Samaritanism

Reviſed and *Enlarged:*

OR, A

TREATISE

AGAINST

Comprehending, Compounding or Tolerating

Several RELIGIONS

AND

Modes of WORSHIP

in the ſame Church.

DEMONSTRATING

The Piety, Equity, and Neceſſity of putting the Laws in Execution againſt

Popiſh and Puritan Recuſants;

From Reaſon, the Antient Church, and their own Opinions and Practices.

LONDON,

Printed for *Robert Clavell*, and are to be ſold at the Star, and two Angels and Crown in *Little Brittain*. 1669.

27

TO THE READER.

THis *is the Second time of my coming unto You, true Chriſtian Reader*: In the mouth of two or three witneſſes ſhall every word be eſtabliſhed, *ſaith the Scripture, ſaith Reaſon, ſaith Conſcience, and ſaith the Conſtitution of all, as well Humane, as Eccleſiaſtical Courts of Judicature. But when* We *are theſe Witneſſes againſt Our ſelves, when the Arrows ſhot againſt us are Feathered from our own Wings, and drawn from our own Quivers, as I earneſtly deſire, ſo do I hope, they, if any thing, may prick our hard hearts to a true and unfained* 2 Cor. 13.

1113394

repentance: Which God, of his infinite mercy and grace to this harrazed Church, grant unto the profeſſed and clandeſtine enemies thereof.

But as for that Chaff of empty profeſſions without ſound fruit, thoſe ſhadows without ſubſtance; as they come to nothing, ſo we eſteem them as nothing worth; nay as new attempts to effect thoſe pernicious ends, the old being fruſtrated. 'Tis the Principles, not the Act, we are to ſettle both our Judgements and Charity by, concerning ſuch men. This for a ſeaſon they may, and perhaps do ſuſpend: but retaining and hiding them, we are little, or nothing ſecurer. 'Tis true, the ſword worn lately at the Belt openly and boldly is now ſhrunk to a Dagger girt like Ehuds cloſe within their Hoſe; but is never the leſs dangerous. Their Drum beats not, their Trumpet ſounds not, as formerly, whereby we were awakened and warned, as well as aſſailed: but now we muſt fear and ſuſpect nothing amiſs till the deadly

deadly ſtroke be given: And do we wonder that the Lions mouth cruelly but not ſucceſsfully enough uſed they ſhould turn the other End and endeavour to benum us with the ſoft Flaps of their Fox tail; after this manner?

Firſt they give out they are for Moderation; *but it is only while they cannot be Extreme, as heretofore.* They will be content with a very little: *but with this reſerve: Until they ſhall be able to get more: and leaſt by demanding too much too early, they quite mar their after-game: A Moderation much like to the temperance of thoſe men, who will not eat too large a Break-faſt leſt they ſhould ſpoil their Dinner.*

Again they ſay, They are not ſo much for Toleration but Comprehenſion: *and therefore they who charge them or write againſt them in that, miſtake. But what ſays their private Gloſs? Not for Tolerating the worſhip of* England, *as now*

eſtabliſhed, Not for Tolerating any not of the Presbyterian way. And their Comprehenſion is to be ſuffer'd quietly under the Protection of the Church of England *to enjoy part of their Poſſeſſions in their* New-Canaan: *until having brought us to pay this Tribute to them they ſhall be able quite to extirpate us* Canaanites.

Farther, They give out notably, They are for Epiſcopacy too: *But what ſaith their* Gloſſa Ordinaria *upon ſuch a bold Text? Yes, but not Prelaty. They are for Biſhops,* i. e. Alexandrian *Biſhops, ſuch as* Hierome *ſpeaks of long before his days, where a Chief Presbyter was elected Biſhop. Will they ſtand to this? Yes, That is, provided he be not perpetual, but as a Prolocutour choſen for Orders ſake, to preſide in Presbyterian Aſſemblies. So that the whole ſumme conſiſting of ſo many fair Cyphers amounts to thus much, They are for Epiſcopacy, that is, Presbytery.*

Next, this Moderate Party is for

Set

Set Forms of Prayer alſo, and wonders any ſhould think otherwiſe of them, ſeeing they commend them to men. But in ſteps the Scholiaſt with a That is, 1. *In private*, 2. *To men of no Gifts, to Creeples, and ſuch as want Crutches; not elſe.* But in Churches they approve them: *with theſe Gloſſes.* 1. *If* they *may have the compoſing and Ordering them:* 2. *Provided Men that have Gifts (as all they have) may be left to their Liberty to ſpeak the Language of Gods Houſe: And that it be not impoſed upon any, or required. And thus they are for a Liturgy, that is. So it be not uſed.*

Fifthly, *Being now a little* becalm'd, *they ſay, We do them wrong in reporting them ſuch Enemies to the Rites and Ceremonies of Our Church: for they can better bear them. Yes ſurely, as men do Peſtilential Meteors, or Comets hanging in the Air, which they cannot pull down: and ſo long as they be not brought upon them, to* Plague *their Conſci-*

ences

ences by their malignant Influences. They are therefore for Ceremonies: that is, ſaith their Practical Gloſſe, For letting them alone: *and, ſo they be not practiſed.*

Laſtly, They ſpeak and teach much againſt Schiſm too: And therefore who can juſtly charge them with any ſuch matter? And truly their Moderation herein cannot be any where parallell'd. For they teach their People (But I wonder by the way, by what honeſt title they became Their *people) that they muſt not ſeparate from us, nor can they Communicate with us. That is, they ſeriouſly teach them to fulfil the old Proverb,* viz. *Neither to go to Church, nor ſtay at home. And leſt this ſhould be too groſs a Contradiction; they muſt mean, They may enter the Church about Sermon time; (if they can ſpare them from Conventicles) when the Council of* Carthage *ſuffer'd* Jews *and* Gentiles *to come into Chriſtian Churches.*

Concil. Carthag. 4 cap. 84.

This is the ſhort account of their famed Moderation. How reaſonable, how Juſt, how Religious, the following Treatiſe doth offer to thy Judgement, Chriſtian Reader. Read attentively Judge impartially, conclude Righteouſly, and Pray with me heartily for the Souls of theſe Diſſenters and Deceivers; that God would vouchſafe to enlighten their eyes, affect aright their hearts, bring them to real Repentance, and the Peace, and Unity of the Church, or at leaſt deliver it out of their wicked hands.

The Contents.

CHAP. I.

A Preparative Enquiry into the Nature of Humane and Eccleſiaſtical Societies, in general. Pag. 1.

CHAP. II.

A Second General Preparation to the determining the Queſtion, by removing vulgar miſtakes concerning Tyranny, Antichriſtianiſm, Chriſtian Liberty, Extremes, and Moderation, Peace, Superſtition: and that Puritans are not for Moderation. Pag. 15.

CHAP. III.

A General determination of the Queſtion according to Reaſon. Pag. 53.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That the Antients, as well Christian as un-Christian, constantly denied Toleration of Religions dissonant and contrary. Pag. 69.

CHAP. V.

A Continuation of the former Subject, and particularly, of putting Hereticks *and* Schismaticks *to Death.* Pag. 88.

CHAP. VI.

Papists directly and absolutely against Toleration of many Religions, or any besides their own. Pag. 109.

CHAP. VII.

The Opinions and Practice of Puritans, *directly opposite to that kind of Liberty of Conscience they argue for, and at present desire.* Pag. 139.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Certain Exceptions, which may be made by Puritans *againſt what hath been delivered, anſwered.*
Pag. 165.

ERRATA.

Page 10 line 19. read *his*. p. 11. l 25. r. *succeſſfully*. p. 13. l. 19. dele *firſt*. p. 14. l. 16. r. *promiſes*. p. 27. l. 4. r. *paint*. l. 14. r. *without ſin*. l. 30. r. *blinding*. p. 30. l. 28. r. *Miſcellaneous*. p. 41. l. 27. r. *under ſuch*. p. 60. l. 10. r. *Chriſtians invade and oppoſe ſuch*. p. 62. l. 10. r *God or*. p. 78. l. 5. r. *Severa*. l. 30. r. *to be*. p. 97. l. 20. r. *worſt*. In the Margin r. *Auctar*. p. 98. l. 16. r. *any*. p. 146. l. 31. In the Margent for 201. r. 202. p. 150. l. 19. r. *too*. p. 155. l. 15. r. *theſe*.

THE Non-Conformists Self-Condemnation.

CHAP. I.

A Preparative Enquiry into the Nature of Humane and Eccleſiaſtical Societies, in general.

MAN being a Sociable Creature, according to the Obſervation of the Philoſopher, and Common Experience; That humane, Societies ought to to excel Herds and flocks of Cattel, is moſt reaſonable to conclude. For, a Multitude is one thing, and a Society another; and differ as much as a *Common*, and a Commonwealth.

So that a multitude of men, though ſober and wiſe, do not preſently and neceſſarily conſtitute a Society, or Commonwealth; nor a multitude of Godly men, and good Chriſtians, a Church: unleſs we betake our ſelves to that Inviſible,

Chap. 1. that Myſtical Church, of which the vileſt Heretique and moſt notorious Schiſmatique, if they pretend to be true members, I know no poſſible means to confute them, or convince them of the contrary, ſo long as they flee the tryall to be made by the viſible Church, and their relation to it. Nor can the Godlieſt man alive give any probable proof that he is of the Inviſible or Myſtical Body of Chriſt, if he draws not his Argument from ſomewhat Viſible. And therefore that Perſon or Party which is beaten out of it's Holds and apparent pretenſes to be of Chriſts Flock, to betake himſelf to the vulgar and pitiful Subterfuges, that he is of Chriſts Myſticall Body, is plainly to give all for loſt here, and meerly to beg leave that he may at leaſt think well of himſelf, though he can offer no tolerable grounds to another, which are not as queſtionable as what he would prove. For 'tis but to abuſe our Saviours words, as too many do, in S. *Matthew*, to ſeek for relief from them, *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them.* For firſt there are divers ways whereby Chriſt may be with men aſſembled in his Name, beſides that of his Church. Again, Chriſts Promiſe ſuppoſes that ſuch *Two or Three* are firſt of his Church, before he be in the midſt of them.

Mat. 18. 20.

But

Chap. I.

But to return. As we muſt diſtinguiſh between a Multitude and a Society, ſo between a Society (ſuch as it is) of Beaſts, and Men. And the definition which *Bodin* gives of a Commonwealth, doth ſufficiently put a difference between them, which is this. A Commonwealth is a multitude of Families and and Common Matters adminiſtred by a Supreme Power and Reaſon: For whatever we may judge, there is in ſome bruiſh Communities a Supreme Command; and that is founded on Senſe and natural Inſtinct: And in Humane Societies there is, and of neceſſity muſt be, a Supreme Authority founded on Reaſon and Natural Inſtinct. For as Common Senſe proceedeth from Natural Inſtinct given to Beaſts; ſo Reaſon proceedeth from, or is the Natural Inſtinct in Man: The Supreme act in Man being termed Reaſon; and the higheſt in Beaſts, Senſe. Though I confeſs the matter remains very difficult ſtill, to diſtinguiſh clearly the one from the other; not in a definition (for that is eaſie enough to frame) but in the exerciſe of Acts, whether They belong to, or may be comprehended in the definition of Reaſon or no? Let others ſtrain their Wits to that purpoſe; our preſent Subject calls us another way. And in the firſt place to note freely the prety, pitiful, and fine preſumptions of divers enquirers

Bodinus de Rep. l. 1. init. *Reſpublica eſt Familiarum rerumque inter ipſas communium ſummâ poteſtate ac ratione moderata multitudo.*

Chap. 1. quirers into the grounds and occasions of Humane Societies; which because, forsooth, taken from Reason at first, some Men have imagined that Natural Instinct in Man was not principal in the Constitution of Commonwealths. Some therefore have wittily (at least as they suppose) said, That necessity was the cause why men combined together in one: Necessity of heat drove divers straggling Men to the same fire; and meeting there, they took up several Discourses and Counsels for their common Welfare. Others more seriously, if not more wisely, are of opinion, That self-defence and preservation against common Adversaries impelled many persons to associate together, and to elect some principal Defender of their Persons, and Director of their Affairs; But they consider not, nor give any account how such Enemies to some came first to conspire into such a powerful Society, as to be able to offend others. Was this occasioned likewise from fear of others? If so, I will demand perpetually, How came those others so together? And at length it must of necessity be answered, From some other cause, and that cause must be at length, Natural Reason, Justice, and Law; whereby, according to Man, some were obliged to Subjection, as some had right of Dominion.

minion. Now what manner of Do- Chap. 1.
minion that was, I leave to be inquired into.

Yet withal I cannot but ſmile a little at the boldneſs and vain preſumption of ſuch who paſſing over the moſt viſible original of Government, and what *de facto* it firſt was, (which certainly in all reaſon muſt needs be the moſt natural way of making out the truth) do betake themſelves to the uncertain mazes and labyrinths of humane imagination; which we find to be ſwayed and bribed to argue and conclude according to Self-intereſt, and particular caſes of their own. Thus we read the Aſſertors of the *Germane* Empire to ſtrain their Reaſons to prove the Conſtitution of that Government according to the famous Golden Bull of *Charles* the Fourth, Emperor, to be moſt perfect, and natural. But Experience ſheweth us plainly, that nothing hath divided, and conſequently weakn'd more that once moſt potent and flouriſhing Nation, than thoſe Immunities and Laws have; and render'd the Supreme Power ſo uncertain and obſcure, that 'tis an hard matter to find where it is ſeated; or, if ſo, to find that to be a Monarchy, and not a Commonwealth, or at leaſt a Combination of Monarchies and Commonwealths.

The like courſe hath *Contarenus* taken

Chap. 1. in his description of the State of *Venice*, (for that too must be held to be most natural) bending his Wits to draw the Law and course of Nature to a conformity to his reason, and his reason to the condition of that Commonwealth.

The same course hath *Bellarmine*, and other (especially Jesuitical) Authors of the Church of *Rome*, followed in his Previous Controversies to his Disputations of the Power, and Regiment of the Pope, contending hard, that the Government is most Reasonable and Christian, which suits best with the Actual Power of the *Romane* Bishop and Clergy. And some have proceeded to that degree of admiration of that Form, that they have ventured to affirm, That Christ had not done wisely, if he had not ordained and disposed matters just as they now stand among them. And are not there to be found amongst us, who have delivered some expressions in behalf of the Presbytery much of the same strain?

And this eying of instances, rather than following the clue of his own most rational Wit, was that which caused the Philosopher *Aristotle* to be so inconstant to himself in his Politicks. For when he handled the case abstractly, he judged excellently of the true nature of Government, and the most natural Government. But then, having before his eyes what great

great offence he muſt neceſſarily give to his Country of *Greece*, which abounded with ſeveral Polities of a ſtrange nature; he found it requiſite to ſtrain his Leather to their **Laſts**. Eſpecially conſidering, that if thoſe Nations, who were for Wit and Learning, the moſt eminent of all the World, ſhould diſreliſh his Schemes (as in all probability they would, as they diſagreed from their plat-forms) it might prove an incurable prejudice to his Works. For, as it is ſeen in Religion, it happens in Civil Polities too, that the more it is with acuteneſs and ſubtilty penetrated, and diſcuſſed, the more corrupt and degenerate it is in the uſe and practice. Chap. 1.

For that there is a Government of Divine appointment, as well in Secular as Religious Societies, is not to be much doubted of; and that all *in ſpecie* cannot be ſuch, is evident from the variety and contrariety of them: For the voice of God is either that innate direction, and natural, and indeliberate election and inclination to which Men by a tacite univerſal conſent do tend, and plainly is to one kind of Political Goverment only, and not indifferently to any, as may appear by inſtances to be given from all people, whoſe firſt Governors were always Monarchs, without exception. For that after a State hath for a long time been founded and ſelted, Men out of ſe-

Chap. I. veral regards and motives ſet their Wits on work, and changed the ſame, not to that Form which really was beſt but beſt pleaſed them, cannot prejudice the title it hath to be Divine and Natural: for as much as we ſee that nothing is ſo natural or indiſputably divine, but it may be, and hath been altered, and thwarted by the bold and unquiet Wits of Men; and no where are ſuch alterations oftner to be found than where Wit and Learning moſt flouriſh; For from an opinion theſe breed in men, are they tempted to deſpiſe the ſimplicity, and direct path of Natural reaſon to ſeek more fine and curious ways of adminiſtring the common Intereſt; Or, the voice of God is that Scriptural word of God which gives, neither precedent nor rule, nor precept for above one Government in either of the Polities.

Some ſuppoſe to moderate and compound the matter by affirming, that Government in general is of Divine Inſtitution, but God hath left it to the liberty of Men to make choice of one *Species* or kind of Government, according as it ſhall ſute beſt with the *Genius* and Humours of the people to be governed. But againſt this I have more to object than may be proper for this occaſion. I ſhall therefore demand firſt, By what Rules of Reaſon or Philoſophy ſuch Men proceed? for, hitherto in other things it was never heard

of

of that God ſhould poſitively create or ordain a thing in the Genus or Species, and ſo that the *Individuum* under them ſhould take its being and ſubſiſt; when as, what ever Being is in the Genus or Kind is owing to the Particular ſubſiſting by it ſelf. For more plainneſs: Can we ſay, that God firſt made a living Creature in general, and from thence ſprang Man and Beaſt; or an Horſe, and *Socrates?* Did he not rather firſt of all create, this *Man* in particular? and ſo Humane Nature had its original ſpecifical: and firſt create this Individual Beaſt, and ſo from thence that nature of Animals took its denomination and being? And thus was it in the Inſtitution of Goverments. God cannot rationally, nor truly be ſaid to make Government in general, or ordain it, and not firſt inſtitute ſome one particular Government, from whence the like might be termed Divine, and the Species it ſelf ſuch. Chap. 1.

Conſider we farther, how more than ridiculous it were that Divine Inſtitution ſhould be of ſuch immenſe extent and capacity, as that it were impoſſible for the boldeſt and wildeſt wit of Man to invent ſuch a form as ſhould not be Divine? Which muſt of neceſſity follow, or the quite contrary, that no Government is of Divine appointment *in ſpecie*: Both which are equally and utterly falſe and abſurd.

Chap. I. absurd. The former, in that it makes Divine Right like the fabulous fiction of Poets concerning Victory between two Armies engaging, hanging in the Air, and hovering over mens heads, until the main stroke be struck, and Men have voted especially for one sort of Government, and then forthwith down comes Divine Right amain, and *Laureates* the head of a Victorious Discipline or State-model. And to hold that no Government is of Divine Original, is to destroy all Right of Rule; and, as some enemies to Mankind have with impudence and stupidity proportionable (even while they seek nothing so much as to appear transcendent) to reduce all kinds and actual possession of Empire to the base principle of Beasts, strength and force; and This it is, as well in Justice as Act, who can catch it. Such a Philosopher indeed or Gladiatour rather, as this (and, as Reason and Religion now goes, such an one is no small fool amongst us) deserves to have the edge of his acute wit turned against him, and to be disputed with, as Men are wont to do with his fellow beasts destructive to Mankind, with a Kennel of hounds, spears, and staffs.

But I return to demand further, Whether that Charter is extant, and to whom it properly and by divine intention pertains, that Men may chose what Government

ment they pleaſe? That which God would have, is ſufficiently made known unto us from the nature and form of that which by his ſpecial Providence firſt, and only appeared for hundreds of years in the World. Thoſe which ſucceeded and excluded the Primitive, were the effect of paſſions principaly: But no ſooner had Luſt, Intereſt, and Error cauſed men to introduce their own devices, but inſtantly Nature and Scripture were drawn to aſſert and ſuſtain them; as Baſtards, left in diſtreſs and helpleſs, are put to honeſt Women to Nurſe and bring up. Chap. I.

I know very well, and readily grant that all ſorts of Governments have ſomewhat Divine in them; but this they have not as ſeveral ſorts, nor as ſuch Forms, but in reſpect of the matter they are concerned in, which principaly is that truly Divine Law, Juſtice; which as to the matter of it, may as realy, though not ſo regularly, be adminiſtred in one kind, as another.

But he that would faithfully and ſucceſſively ſettle his judgement in the true and genuine kind of Government, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, ought not to proceed in that long, tedious, and moſt uncertain way of Mens minds and Intereſts, of enquiring, which of all ſeems moſt reaſonable, moſt equal, moſt holy, and beneficial to the ends of all Rule;

Chap. 1. Rule; and conclude that to be ſo, which ſeems to his underſtanding, to be bleſſed moſt plentifully with theſe; but muſt impartialy and ſincerely enquire after the *Fact* immediately; which of all theſe have the faireſt and cleareſt proofs of being *de facto* inſtituted of God. For, a quite contrary method may be obſerved in the Will and Laws of Men, and of God: Man chooſeth and decrees a thing becauſe it is good and laudable; but on the contrary, becauſe God wills and ordains a thing, therefore it is good of neceſſity. According as *Gerſon* hath excellently obſerved, *Deus non ideò vult res ad extrà fieri quia bonæ ſunt, quemadmodum movetur humana voluntas ex objectione boni, vel veri vel apparentis. Eſt è contrà potius, quod ideò res ad extra bonæ ſunt, quia Deus vult eas tales eſſe: Ideóque ſi vellet eas vel non eſſe, vel aliter eſſe, id quoquè jam bonum eſſet, &c.* Thus he, And to the ſame purpoſe *Guilielmus Pariſienſis* writeth, *Non decet creatorem, nec Poſſibile eſt Creatori facere niſi convenientiſſimè, quod facit: nec decet, aut poſſibile eſt præferre minus conveniens convenientiori.* i. e. *It becometh not the Creatour, nor is it poſſible for the Creatour to do otherwiſe than moſt aptly, what he doth: Nor is it poſſible he ſhould prefer a leſs conveniense before a greater.* For inſtance, We all, or moſtly agree, that the Parts of Man's body are placed moſt

Gerſon de Conſolatione Theologiæ. Proſ. 2.

Guilielm. Pariſiens. De legibus. cap. 28.

moſt aptly for uſe and ſervice of the whole, and moſt beautifully for ornament of the ſame. Yet ſuppoſing that it had been the will of God to have ſet the Noſe of Man behind him, his Eyes in his Breſt, his Ears on the Crown of his Head, and his Mouth on the Navel of his Belly; without diſpute this had been the moſt wiſe, beautiful, and uſeful order. In like manner, had it ſeemed good to God to caſt Civil and Church-Government into any other ſhape, form, or condition than actually he hath, it were not to be queſtion'd but it would be moſt perfect and excellent. From all which (ending this Chapter) I infer theſe Concluſions as certain and pious: Chap. I.

Firſt, That both Polities have a Government eſpecially Divine; Seeing firſt according to the moſt certain Logick and Reaſon, Nothing can be in the Genus but is in Each of the Species, ſo that if Government in General be Divine, of neceſſity every Species muſt be ſo: which is more than any dare affirm.

Secondly, I conclude, That Government ſo Divine is not to be altered under ſpecious pretexts, and Humane ratiocinations and preſumptions offering themſelves, that another ſort would ſerve the ends of Community better: For the fault may be, and moſt commonly is, in the knottineſs and croſs-grain'dneſs of the piece

Chap. 1. piece of Wood, and not in the Tool, or Artificer. And more reasonable it is divers times, the People should be changed, than their Laws or Government; though the contrary is commonly seen, that when they offend in untractableness, they cast off the accusation from themselves, by chastising the Laws, controverting Titles, and quarreling at the imperfections and inconveniences of that Government they live under, as not good enough for them. For I stick not to grant but as the common sort may be, and have of late especially been dealt with, and imposed upon, by unsound and flattering Doctrines, and golden Provinces of future felicity, and especially greater Christian Liberty under some other forms, a Government may be devised both in Church and State which may sute better with such a distemper'd Genius of the People. But that argues little, that therefore such a Government ought to be, but much, that the People ought not so to be.

CHAP.

Chap. 2.

CHAP. II.

A Second General Preparation to the determining the Queſtion, by removing vulgar miſtakes concerning Tyranny, Antichriſtianiſm, Chriſtian Liberty, Extremes, and Moderation, Peace, Superſtition: and that Puritans are not for Moderation.

IT is too plainly ſeen, that words, which at firſt were inſtituted to ſerve Man's underſtanding, and guide it into the knowledge of things, do command, pervert, and hurry it into many miſtakes and errors: Or perhaps, to ſpeak more properly, the vulgar uſe corrupting them cauſeth this miſchief. And hence it is that an opprobrious name maliciouſly or ignorantly given, and commonly applied is abundantly ſufficient to captivate ordinary Minds into an evil opinion of things undeſervedly. Call therefore a Government Tyrannical, Antichriſtian, Extreme, Immoderate, and againſt Chriſtian Liberty; this with the Common ſort, proves ſuch a Government ought not to be endured, though it be not at all proved that ſuch terms properly belong to it, nor indeed

Chap. 2. indeed such persons who are so liberal of their ill language know well what they say, or whereof they affirm. Let us endeavour then to come very briefly to a true notion of some of them.

Concerning Tyranny, a grand and current mistake there is, that it is properly a *Species* or kind of Government; which is true, indeed if it be taken in the Ancienteſt, not Modern sense, for the same with Monarchy, or the Government of One. But modern *Demagogues* have so confounded and corrupted the Doctrine of Government, that not in the Ancient and Innocent sense, absolute Monarchy is Tyranny, and a King a Tyrant, but in the vulgar and formidable notion and acception of Tyranny, Monarchy absolute is with them Tyranny, and he that rules alone without being accountable to others, a Tyrant: which is altogether as true as the other Extreme which they swallow with greateſt credulity, *viz.* That all Government administred by Many presently commences Liberty. And hence it is, that a King without depending on the Laws, some as call themselves Protectors of the Laws, make no doubt to declare a Tyrant, because in truth he may be so. And the Eccleſiastical Power disperſed and exercised by one in his Circuit, yet not without the concurrence and advice of

of others, is confidently termed Tyrannical, but by many, Free, and Intrinsick; as *Hinderſon* pleaſed to ſpeak: of which all is begg'd, nothing proved. Chap. 2.

Ariſtotle, when he ſaid That Monarchy eaſily degenerates into Tyranny, did not ſay or mean that it was ſo in its own nature: Neither did he ſay *Polycracie* did not, nor could fall into the ſame. For he that will be at the ſmall pains to weigh the matter ſincerely, ſhall eaſily perceive that Tyranny is no Government of it ſelf, but the corruption of Government. And Liberty is no more eſſential to *Ariſtocracie*, or ſuch like Government, conſtituted of many Rulers, than to *Monarchy*; and that dreadful thing, called Arbitrary Power, is altogether as incident to the Rule of Many, as when One alone has the Supreme Power: Nay, there muſt of neceſſity be an Arbitrary Power, and Actually is, in all Commonwealths; as hath been Irrefragably Demonſtrated by others already, who are not of the *Clergy*, who are often Cenſured, for driving matters of this nature too high. For it is impoſſible any Commonwealth ſhould ſubſiſt, or continue without a Supreme Abſolute Power; and where ever this is, there is that we call Arbitrary Power. Many People indeed, obſerving the evils of this, have ſo Framed

Anarchy or mixed Monarchy.

Chap. 2. their Government, and Constituted Governours as to prevent the same; and have almost infinitely multiplyed Governors, and Inspectors over Governors, and Check over Check, but could never find success answerable; the last Remedy of all therefore against Courts, Princes, and Greatest Councils, have been to entitle the People in Gross, to take account of such Irregularities: but such a remedy, as could never so much as take place, for as much as never did, or can the People concur Universaly to such Ends but the *Major*, or more Active, and busie part carried the name of all, which commonly is a piece of as great injustice, and injury, as any they would cure by such jealous Vigilancy: and if it could be done, Were not this as Arbitrary a Proceeding, as the very First of all?

Populum autem non omnem cœtum multitudinis, sed cœtum juris consensu & utilitatis communione sociatum esse determinat.

Baxter's *Thesis of Government* p. 106.

So profound and wise a Doctor of State is he that writes thus boldly, *Governours are some limited, and some* De facto *unlimited. The Unlimited are Tyrants, and have no right to that unlimited Government.* A shallow, but notorious piece of Sedition. For there is no Nation in which the Governours are not Illimited: But I doubt not but the Mans mind ran altogether on Monarchical Government, at the writing hereof: and never dream'd that his Posirion

ſition made againſt States, no leſs than *Monarchies*: the vanity of which his miſtake doth thus appear. Chap. 2.

There is, and muſt be in all Government an Abſolute, and Arbitrary Power. Now, that, when this Supremeſt Power is veſted in One, it muſt preſently be called a Tyranny; when in many, Liberty, is a miſerable cheat of the Common-people by ambitious, and diſcontented perſons, ſeeking the advancement of themſelves, by the Oppreſſion of others. For, as the Apoſtle in another Caſe hath it; *Thou art inexcuſable, O man, whoſoever thou art, that judgeſt; for wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf; for thou that judgeſt, doſt the ſame things.* So that if it be unjuſt for One who is Supreme, to do ſuch a thiug towards ſuch as are Subject to him, it is unjuſt for Many ſo to do; and if it be Tyrannical for Him, it is Tyrannical in Many, even in a *Senate*. For, what is Tyranny, but an exceſſive uſe, or exerciſe of Power, contrary to the Law of Reaſon and Juſtice? So that Tyranny being a moral vice contrary to Juſtice, doth not conſiſt in the abundance of Power, but in the abuſe: as other Moral Vices do not conſiſt in full power to offend, but in the ill uſe of ſuch Power. For, as Drunkenneſs conſiſteth not in having plenty of Wine,

Scipio Ciceronianus apud Auguſtinum de Civitate Dei. lib. 2 cap. 21.

Rom. 2. 1.

Chap. 1. nor Gluttony in having choice and command of rich and various Fare (and so in other things) but in taking too liberally, and inordinately of them: So Tyranny is not the uncontroulableness of Power in One Person or more, but the unreasonable and immoderate use, according to Power. According to the best description given by *Aristotle* himself of Tyranny, which is, that, *It is the Excess of true Political Government.* And after declares what he means by [παρεκβασις] Excess, *viz.* That when one or more Govern according to the Common good, there is a true Political Government, but such are Tyrannical which rule to the Private good of One, or of a Few, or of the People. So that we see, according to the Philosopher, Tyranny may equally run through all kinds of Governments, as well as Monarchy: contrary to the affected mistake of many Modern Politicians especially. For he indeed is a Tyrant that thus carries himself, and that Council is Tyrannical, yea, that People is Tyrannical, which contrary to the Law of Reason Invadeth, and Mutilateth the Rights of Dominion belonging to their Governors, which may be their Property as justly, and reasonably as any Goods, or Possessions belonging to Subjects, may be so termed, in respect of them. A thing, which

Τύραννίς ὅτι παρέκβασις τῶν ὀρθῶν Πολιτειῶν— εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἢ τὸ ἐνὸς, ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων, ἢ τὸ πλῆθος, παρεκβάσεις Arist. l. 3. c. 4, 5.

which if it were impartially, and conſci- Chap. 2.
onably conſidered, me-thinks People
would be more modeſt than to think all
thoſe Privileges and Liberties, they can
by flattery craft or taking advantage of
neceſſities into which their Governours
may be brought, gain to themſelves, law-
ful ſpoil; or indeed, though at firſt ſight
they may appear ſo, profitable for them-
ſelves: For ſuppoſe we, that a people
ſtudious of Liberty, ſhould not only pro-
cure a Law that they ſhould be free from
all contributions to common good but
what voluntarily they ſhould pleaſe to
give, but likewiſe, ſuch a Law, that they
ſhould never be compelled (which we
vulgarly, and corruptly call Preſſed) to
the Wars; this ſurely would ſeem a glo-
rious Liberty, and benefit to the com-
mon ſort, but really would in ſhort
time prove the ruine of the whole. There
is ſuch an Immunity claimed by the Com-
mons of the Confederate *Netherlands*;
which hath endangered, and certainly,
had not the Governours found out ſome
pretty tricks to elude it, had unavoida-
bly brought thoſe Commonwealths to
nothing. S. *Auſtin* in his Book of the City
of God, tells us, That *Scipio* in *Tully* calls
an unjuſt King a Tyrant; and unjuſt No-
bles, Governing, a Faction; and ſpeaking
of the exceſs of Popular Government, to
that, ſaith he, *Nomen non reperit, niſi ut*

Auguſt. De Civit. Dei. l. 2. c. 21. Οὐ γὰρ ἔς ἀνθρωποι νόμους τίθενται τὸ ἔνλογον ἁπλῶς ἔχειν ἢ πάντοτε φανόμενον ἀλλ' ἔνια ἢ δοκεῖ κομιδῇ γελοῖα τῶν πραγμάτων.

Plutarch, De ſerâ Numinis Vind. & Pſal. 94 20.

Chap. 2. *etiam & ipſum Tyrannum vocaret, i. e.* He could find no name for them, but Tyrants alſo: Neither have ſuch juſt excuſe, becauſe perhaps they have a Law on their ſide. For the Law it ſelf, may have been extorted; and, if freely Enacted, yet unjuſt in it ſelf, as that we laſt mentioned; and that *Law* of which the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaketh, *framing miſchief*; and that Law, which many vehemently plead for in Church-Diſcipline, as that wherein conſiſteth (as they fondly, and falſly imagine, or perhaps would ſeem to believe rather) Chriſtian Liberty, That every man ſhould do as he pleaſes, in things ſo Indifferent that they are not under any Precept or Prohibition of of Gods Word: For this would inevitably produce differences; and differences, in ſuch inconſiderable matters, will infallibly proceed to Animoſities and Diviſions in greater matters, and theſe terminate in the overthrow of all Diſcipline, or Government: I ſay, All Diſcipline. Now there is a Diſcipline which Mr. *Beza* held to be a third Eſſential part of a true Church, if we believe Mr. *Cartwright*, relating his opinion, or his own: Which is, That matters of Diſcipline, and kind of Government, are not to be diſtinguiſhed from matters neceſſary to Salvation and Faith: So that however they ſeem to be of this deſtructive

Cartwright *in Second Reply*, p. 53. Id. *Firſt Reply* p. 14.

destructive Opinion (and indeed, they often and plainly affirm so much) yet they be no longer of it, than till such time as the Power be in their own hands: just as the Miller stops the course of the Waters, not that he is absolutely against Rivers, what ever he may seem to be, but till he shall find it necessary for his own Grist. Now to return to the Application of what we have said, concerning Tyranny, which our Church-Government is commonly, and boldly charged with by Sectaries, and particularly, in their Synodical Letters to Transmarine Churches; They may learn at Length, that no Government in its Nature is Tyrannical, but the evil Administration of any Government makes any so, though Democratical. For it is not necessary, that the *Persian*, *Turkish*, or *Tartarian* Government should be Tyrannical, more than That of *Venice*, or of the *United Provinces*: as an ingenious Republican Authour hath observed, and doth confess, speaking of the Government of the East-*Indian* Kings, thus, *Notwithstanding the Rule of the Kings of* Java *may seem to be Tyrannical, yet they so politically demean themselves according to the condition of that Nation, that any, whose heart is not made of horn, —— may easily learn, how compendious a way of Governing this is, for Kings to Rule well, and Subjects to obey better.* For these

Chap. 2.

Quamvis Regum in Javavideatur Tyrannicum imperium, tamen id ita pro conditione gentis suæ politicè geruat ut aliquis cui non cor nea fibra est, —— satis, &c. Jacobus Bontius De Medicinâ Indorum, l. 1. c. 31.

Chap. 2. these have as Absolute and Arbitrary Dominion as they. 'Tis true, these have more Moderate and Favourable Laws of Ruling than They: But who shall constrain them to observe them, if they please to break them? The People? So may the People bring those Barbarous Kings to more equal dealing, if they can, as well as the other. If therefore Many in Authority, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical do the same things, and have as much Power as One; the Tyranny of this differs from the Tyranny of them, just as much as a pound of Lead doth from a pound of Feathers; which is no small matter with vulgar Judges.

From whence plainly appears the dull errour, and wicked use men have made of the same, to exclaim against Episcopal Government for no other visible cause, but that it draweth neerer to the nature of Monarchy. For what ever of Tyranny it hath in it, is chiefly seen in the Lenity of it, and not Rigour. I say the Lenity, and Remissness, I had like to have added Carelessness and Timidity to offend any; which, doing as much as comes to nothing, hath notably emboldened men to conspire against Bishops doing any thing, and confirmed some in an opinion that they ought to do nothing, unless what every man in his

his private breſt ſhall have firſt decreed to be lawful. Which, if any thing, is to play the Tyrant over our Superiours: as a Canon of the Apoſtles doth expreſly affirm, Authentically enough againſt ſuch diſſatisfied perſons as now adays would bear all down, to *Boie* themſelves up; ſaying, *If any Presbyter or Prieſt deſpiſing his own Biſhop, ſhall aſſemble apart, and erect another Altar* [or place and manner of worſhip] *being not able to convict his Biſhop of any impiety or injuſtice, let him be cut off, as an ambitious perſon. For he is a Tyrant*, &c. But if the Presbyterian accuſations of Tyranny in Biſhops be to be heard, when it amounts to no more than that they are Governed by them, and are required to be ſubject many times againſt their Wills, Intereſts, and Deſigns, who can long be Innocent? I am ſure not themſelves.

Chap. 2.

Εἴ τις Πρεσβύτερος, καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, χωρὶς συνάξῃ, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἕτερον πήξῃ μηδὲν κατεγνωκὼς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ· κατακριθήτω ὡς φιλαρχος. Τύραννος γάρ ἐστι, &c. Can. Apoſtol. 31.

Therefore, until Reformers of Governments deny the power to themſelves which they deny to others, and the exerciſe thereof; let them accuſtome their mouths to more ingenuous and ſincere language, and either forbear to traduce others with that ignominious term, or begin to hallow it by their profeſſion and practice. For 'tis but changing the ſingular

Chap. 2.

Ὁ μὲν τύραννος τὸ ἑαυτῷ συμφέρον σκοπεῖ, ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων. *Aristot. Ethic. l. 1. c. 10. Basil. M. in Princip. Prov. Isido. Peluſiot. l. 3. Epi. 194. & l. 4. Epi. 142*

lar into the plural number, and *Ariſtotle's* deſcription of a Tyrant will ſuit as well with States and Claſſes, as with King and Biſhops, *viz. The Tyrants ſeek their own good, but Princes ſeek the good of them they govern:* Wherein he is followed by Saint *Baſil*, as is he by *Iſidore Peluſiotes.*

But neither can theſe nor * *Bodine* poſſibly render any reaſon, why he uſeth the Singular, and not Plural Number, in his definition of Tyranny; *Tyrannis eſt in qua unus homo divinis ac Naturæ Legibus ſublatis, rebus alienis ut ſuis, & liberis hominibus quaſi mancipiis ad libidinem abutitur.* i. e. *Tyranny is wherein one Man,* [*and why not where many?*] *deſtroying Humane and Divine Laws, uſurps to himſelf what belongs to other men, and abuſes free men, as if they were ſlaves.*

* *Bodinus De Republ. l. 2. c. 4.*

But let us proceed to what follows.

Next in order, nature, and abuſe, is infamous Extremity, immoderateueſs, or want of moderation, in managing Controverſies, and compoſing and curing Diviſions and Differences: For, whoſo ſhall go under ſuch imputations of the Vulgar ſhall have enough to anſwer for, though no more be objected againſt him.

And if they can but have the good luck as to make people believe they are

for

for Moderation, their work is well nigh done, with inconſiderate Judges. And it is worth the while to hear with what confidence they to that end point out their own praiſes, thus, *We ſettle mens judgements upon moſt firm and ſolid principles leading to peace and holineſs, leading them through that ſafe and middle way that is equally diſtant from all thoſe extremes men have run into in their hearts, about ſome points of Religion, as particularly in the points now in difference amongſt us: we teach our people, that though they cannot conform to the Church without, yet they cannot ſeparate from it without ſin.* Yet there is one thing notoriouſly wanting in ſuch their teachings, *viz.* to ſhew how theſe two can poſſibly ſtand together, and how it is not a contradiction (many of which their fair-fac'd writings fall into, while they condemn both ſeparation from us, and communion with us) neither to ſeparate nor Communicate. This is indeed a new and a notable piece of Moderation if we mark it well, and take it in the Juggling ſenſe; but in the Logicians and ſounder ſenſe, a making Contradictions true. For, (notwithſtanding the ſundry binding ſhifts are commonly) to hold that there is no material cauſe of ſeparation, and yet not to Communicate, is to be unavoidable

Chap. 2.

A Myſtery of Godlineſs and no Cabbala, p. 9.

Schiſ-

Chap. 2. Schismatiques. And to declare in such Cases, Men may, and they may not Communicate, what can we call it? But farther, How do these men settle Mens judgements? with what colour can they utter such commendatory words, which they are as uncapable of as any men alive? Have they not put a thousand scruples, and impertinent and needless doubts into mens heads, which they never would have so much as dream'd on, but by their suggestions and inculcations? Have they not cast almost infinite stumbling blocks before the poor and simpler peoples feet, that they would never have (and better a thousand times they had never) stuck at but for them? So that now, they scarce know what to do, or whither to turn them for snares laid to intangle their Consciences by Presbyterians. And call they this settling mens Consciences? It bears indeed some true proportion with their bragging promise, of setling the Kingdom, when they were in the direct way to overturn it: as it in truth fell out. But let us see what is Moderation, and consequently Extremities, according to vulgar acception. After this manner then, Moderation is the same in effect with the art of cleaving of Billets, cutting or chopping a thing in the middle, and dividing the live Child

Child into two equal parts, between the unjuſt pretender, and the true Mother, without any due conſideration of the cauſe it ſelf, in juſtice, but the peace of different Parties. For as *Plutarch* obſerveth, Πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀνόητον καὶ φαῦλον, οὐδέν ἐστι μέτρον οὐσίας. *With Fools and Knaves there is no ſuch thing as the Mean, as to the Thing.* But if Men be extremely diſtant from, or oppoſite to a thing or perſon, then preſently do they accuſe the ſame of Extremes, not conſidering that it is in the power of any Man to declare and denominate a thing extreme, by his only act of extremely departing from it; as eaſily as it is in his power by turning himſelf about, to cauſe a thing to ſtand to the left or right hand. If then to reconcile Matters and come to a Mediocrity, we ſhall think it fit to clap into the middle, and give one of the Diſſenters one part, and another the other; we ſhall quickly diſpatch and deſtroy all Vertue, all Religion, and all Juſtice, in pretending fairly, and intending foully to conſerve them. But Truth, (as *Plutarch* wiſely noted) is to be ſought out Διὰ ἀρετῆς ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐναντίας κακίας, *i. e.* for Vertue's ſake, not for the extreme vice: Unleſs therefore Men ſhall firſt agree upon a rule and ſtandard to meaſure opinions and actions, and accuſations,

Chap. 2.

Plutarch. in Sympoſiac.

Plutarch. de Adulatore.

Chap. 2. tions, beſides what is famed or defamed for Extreme, it is vain and fooliſh to talk of Moderation or extreme. For, had our Anceſtors held only to that kind of trial, and accommodating differences either in State or Church; we had had neither Juſtice, nor Religion, to ſtrive or contend about at preſent; or, at leaſt, that far from the true. For firſt, *Samaritaniſm* was the firſt, and moſt Authentick Precedent we meet with, of ſuch a Moderation as is now contended for. It was a compoſition of *Gentiliſm* and *Judaiſm*: And the *Samaritans*, or the people inhabiting thoſe parts where *Samaria* was, were very early in this contrivance and Project, to deſtroy the true *Iſraelitiſh* worſhip. For firſt, *Jereboam*, who made a defection from the houſe of *David*, and true Religion, is not thought to have changed quite the worſhip of the True God of *Iſrael*, but would have God worſhipped by his two Calves, a moderate way certainly to deceive the people into a new Religion. This, before *Samaria* was built, and the Captivity. Afterward a *Miſſellaneous* people poſſeſsing that Country at the appointment of *Salmaneſer*, they moderated again, and made a Medlie of *Judaiſm* and *Heatheniſm*; as we read in the book of the Kings. And at the Return

Return of the Children of *Judah* from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, their humour of confounding Religions came on them again, and with all the beſt arguments now in great uſe, and eſtimation they offered an agreement with the *Jews*, with the great advantages of Peace and Reconciliation, and their aſsiſtance in building the Houſe of God together with an intimation of the great danger and damage like to befal them, if their brotherly offers were not accepted, which accordingly did really hinder and affl& the *Jews*: as we read in *Ezra*. And in following ages they ceaſed not to practiſe the ſame art of Moderation, as *Joſephus* writes at large. For when ever the Jewiſh Church (ſaith he) had the power in their hands, ſubdued their enemies, and their Religion flouriſhed, the *Samaritans* addreſſed themſelves to them in right gentle and brotherlywiſe, offering their ſervice to them, deſiring union, ſeeking to become one people with them, telling them they were their brethren, and that they worſhipped the ſame God with them, they were of the ſame Religion with them, with ſome ſmall and light differences: and ſo collogued with them. But then on the contrary, when they were under Perſecution and in extremity (as in *Antiochus* his days) then they told another

Chap. 2.

2 *King. ch.* 17

Ezra 4.

Joſephus Ant. Jud. l. 12. *c.* 7.

Chap. I. other tale, and said they were altogether another people, they had no relation to them, or kindness for their Religion; For they were *Persians* by extraction, and would not own the *Jews*. This was their Moderation, and of a Blood with our moderate men in these days; who in times of our greatest persecutions will have nothing to do with us: but in their low Estate, offer such plausible speeches as these. Again *Judaism* may be said to be a Mean between *Mahometism* and *Christianism*; *Popery* a Mean between *Judaism* and *Socinianism*: Again, the *Reformation* a Mean between *Papism* and *Socinianism*; and the *English Reformation*, a Mean between *Popery* and *Puritanism*. And, if we must be forced to farther Moderation still, *Independency* will be found a Mean between *Presbyterism* and *Episcopal* Government, as *Presbyterism* is a Mean between *Episcopacy* and *Independency*; and *Independency* a Mean between *Presbytery* and *Anabaptism*, and *Anabaptism* a Mean between *Independency* and *Quakerism*; and so on, till the wit of Man shall be able to invent no more Extreams; which whether that will ever be, I know not. Now would I demand, (if it were lawful.) Which of all these is truly eligible for the Mean sake? and and when that shall be pitched on and chosen,

choſen, Upon what account and ground? Must it not be rather becauſe of ſome ſpecial Vertue proper to it as coming neerer to that we conſtitute and propound to our ſelves, as a certain Rule and Principle, than for that it ſtands between two Extremes, which is common alſo to that Religion which we reject? Chap. 2.

In the raign of *Zeno* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* about the year 475 there ſprang up a Sect of Chriſtians called *Pacificantes*, or *Peace-makers*, who would undertake to compound differences between the *Eutychians* and *Catholiques*, but were utterly rejected as writeth *Evagrius*, and *Funcius*. And 'tis evident by Antiquity, that by the fair face of Mediocrity the *Arians* under *Conſtantius* the Emperor proſpered to the couſenage of the ſimpler, and overthrow of the wiſer Catholiques. But how well *Hilary* thought of this method of Pacification and quieting ſtirs in the Church, theſe his words to *Conſtantius* plainly teſtifie: *Hæc ille pater tuus capitalis hominum hoſtis docuit, vincere ſinè contumaciâ, jugulare ſinè gladio, perſequi ſinè infamiâ, odire ſine ſuſpicione, mentiri ſine intelligentiâ, profiteri ſinè fide, blandiri ſinè bonitate, agere quod velis, nec manifeſtare quæ velis*, i. e. *This your Father, the mortal Enemy to man, taught you, to Conquer without Fierceneſs, to Stab without a Sword, to*

Evagrius Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3 c. 14 & cap. 30. Funcius Comment. Chronolog. l. 8. An. 620.

Hilarius contra Conſtant.

Chap. 2. *make Profeſſion and yet have no Faith, to flatter without goodneſs, to obtain your will, and yet not to diſcover your will.* Thus he: And *Proſper* excellently. *Contrariorum permiſtio meliorum defectio eſt. Quia cum virtus vitium recipit non a vitio ſed a virtute diſceditur*, i. e. *The mixture of Contrary things is the decay of the better: becauſe when virtue admits vice, men depart not from vice, but virtue.* And this certainly and generally do they, who contend for Moderation, after ſo many, and great Inſtances, as may already be given of their condeſcenſions and conceſſions; from whom ſtill boldly and afreſh more Moderation is exacted, as if nothing had been done to ſeek their Peace and good Opinion; whoſe immodeſty and immoderateneſs will not ſuffer them to reſt, ſo long as they have any hope left them to obtain their Ends, under the ſpecious pretext of Moderation. For if what, and as often as, they demand, be granted; upon that account, they muſt of neceſſity, in time (and that not long) exhauſt and quite deſtroy them inſenſibly: If they be not gratified in this, ſo fair and Popular requeſt; then will they ſhrewdly endanger their Reputation and Intereſt, by bringing them under the Odium and Infamy with the Multitude, for Perſons in Extremes, and who will yield nothing

Proſper Contra Collatorem, c. 38.

thing for Peace and Unities ſake. But for my own particular, I had rather be Robbed than Cheated; and ſuffer the ſame loſs by open violence and aggreſſions, than by fair frauds: by which I muſt believe at the ſame time I am dealt Friendly, and Equally with. Chap. 2.

But let the matter be no longer diſputed in general, but let us examine the practice of theſe Comprehenders, and then judge, who pleaſes, of their equity and integrity herein. The firſt Article of their Specious Bill of Comprehenſion, which we have ſeen, is thus with great Artifice, but with real extreme deſtructiveneſs to the preſent conſtitution of our Church, propounded as an Expedient of Reconciliation. *Such who are Ordained by Presbyters ſhall come to the Biſhop, and receive Legal Impoſition of hands, before they be admitted to the Office of a Miniſter, or exerciſe of their Function:* This is as neer their own phraſe as my beſt remembrance can bring their certain ſenſe. And there are not wanting Perſons of Excellent worth, Gravity, and Dignity in Another Faculty (to which it were heartily wiſhed they would wiſely and judiciouſly confine themſelves, and not Prejudge what they declare themſelves to be but meanly verſed in, by the ready Suffrage at leaſt (if that be all) they give to this de-

Chap. 2.

vice) who lean too favourably or perhaps partially, to them. A Device as old almoſt as the Male-contented Projectours of Presbyterian Diſcipline here intended. For in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when the Puritans were moſt vehemently zealous and buſie about the eſtabliſhing their *Genevan* Diſcipline, and found it a matter above their Power Publiquely to obtrude it, or their Mimically Ordained Miniſters on the Church, ſo as to Exerciſe their Function without Epiſcopal Ordination and Licence, They were infinitely perplexed what courſe to take. For then ſo high were they that they Obliged Men to Renounce Epiſcopal Orders; and probably would ſtill be of that temper, but that ſo many of the Prime Leaders were caught in that Net: and how to proceed without ſuch Ordination, they could not ſee: till at laſt neceſſity and preſumption drave them to this Sacrilegious and prophane Counſel and reſolution, *viz.* That they of their Gang ſhould be firſt Ordained by their Preſbyteries, and then permitted to receive Impoſition of Hands from the Biſhop, as a Civil Magiſtrate, not as Communicating any Spiritual, or Eccleſiaſtical Faculty; which they determined to have been by them only given before. Which is the very ſame *Legal* Impoſi-

See Lib. 3. Chap. 14. of Dangerous Poſitions.

tion

tion of hands they, with ſo much pre- Chap. 2.
tence of candour and condeſcenſion can
ſuffer, or allow in the Biſhop, after
they have effected all that is Sacred be-
fore. And their equanimity and con-
deſcenſion herein conſiſteth, that the
Eccleſiaſtical Power and Divine Right
of Ordination, according to the Judge-
ment and Conſtitutions of our Church,
only reſting in the Biſhops, muſt by this
trick be wholly extinguiſhed and de-
bauched into a Secular Power, by ſuch
Acts ſignifying their Licence given for
ſuch men, as they ſhall have before Or-
dained, to miniſter. This they certainly
muſt and do intend, who hold it a
great prophanation of Orders to be
Reiterated; and therefore all the Biſhop
doth after them, is look'd on by them
only as certain Formalities attending
(not the Inward Power, but) Outward
Commiſſion to preach. Which is ſo far
from what it pretends, Moderation, that
nothing could be deviſed more pernicious
to the whole Form of our Church;
and ſuch, that if any Biſhop ſhould
attempt to put in practice, he thereby
betrays and denies the Church, his own
Order, and ſomewhat more than I will
ſay at preſent. So cruel are the Mercies,
and ſo Extreme the Moderation of our
Adverſaries.

It being then in the Power of any

Chap. 2. ſingle Perſon, and much more of a Faction, to make a Church, or, more truly, to denominate it Extreme and Immoderate, when ever they pleaſe to run far enough from it by their roving Inventions and Innovations. When will there be any reſt, or ſtability from ſuch accuſers; if ſuch a Church ſhall preſently be obliged by the Sacred Bonds of Charity, Unity, and Peace, to leave its ground and follow them, at leſt in part, and to relinquiſh its Poſſeſſion and Right; leſt by the foreſaid Engine of ſhew and pretence of Moderation, it be turned out of doors? Surely, God muſt be truſted in ſuch Caſes, if there were no other reaſon (as there are many and weighty) beſides the neceſſity of diſcouraging ſuch Attempts, which will never be wanting, when ſuch ſucceſs is hoped for, upon ſuch general and weak, though plauſible, Pleas.

It is wont to be ſaid, that all this may be true; for it is not fit all Pretenders and Opinions ſhould be Tolerated, or yielded to: but this makes nothing againſt the Sober, Godly, and Conſcientious Party, who can do ſomewhat in order to a Reconciliation, and keep cloſe to the Rule of the Scripture.

I do obſerve, that the beſt Arms (even ſuch men have to prevail with,) are very frequent and large praiſes of themſelves,

ſelves, and profuſe ſelf-commendation, which hath had wonderful great ſucceſs: For if you demand an Argument, and ſome competent Proof that they are ſo Conſciencious, or how poſſibly they can be ſaid to be ſo who have been enormous in Sins of a Party, and not Perſonal Sins? You ſhall find ſhameful tergiverſation, or more ſhameful Juſtification of ſuch Practices, as, in our eſtimation no Sober, Honeſt, or truly Conſciencious man can be ſubject to, and much leſs defend. Chap. 2.

And as touching the great Regard pretended to be had to the Word of God, we ſee no cauſe to take them at their Word, or that they ſhould meaſure, and judge their own Caſt. It is a ſtronger and more reaſonable Proof, that they have not the Scriptures on their ſide, than any they can bring that they have, That all indifferent ſtanders by give it againſt them: I mean, the Tradition and Practice of the beſt and ancienteſt Churches.

Neither will the Doctrine of Chriſtian Liberty relieve theſe; if better underſtood, than vulgarly it is. For, (not to make a ſet Diſpute of that Subject at preſent) two general Errors may be noted, which have evil Influence upon men: Firſt, That Chriſtian Liberty is only Negative, being completed in a

Chap. 2. freedom from Judaical Servitude, or Bondage under *Moſes* his Law; or not doing what was indiſpenſably Impoſed by that Law, on that People: and not in any thing Poſitive, or a Licence to act more than it was free or Lawful for them. Though I do not find that it was by *Moſes* his Law made utterly Unlawful for that People to Act any thing beſides what was Commanded expreſly by it; It is plain, that in proceſs of time they did contrive many things Extrinſecally related to the Worſhip of God. Neither are ſuch their Ordinances any where reprehended in Scripture; but ſuch are often, which are contrary to their Law, or juſtle out the Orders of God, and his precepts. And theſe are the places brought ſo againſt Humane Inventions ſubſervient to God's command; very ignorantly, or peeviſhly. But however, Liberty of Chriſtians extendeth as well to the Affirmative as Negative part; that is, to do thoſe things which are not prohibited any ways by God's Word, as well as not to do thoſe things which the *Jews* were bound to do. Hence it follows, that, were it ſo, that the *Jewiſh* Church was tyed up ſo ſtrictly (which I do not believe) that it could not Act any thing circumſtantiating the Service of God but what was directly required, yet Evangelical

gelical Liberty, being as well of a far more ample as noble condition, doth permit ſuch things, contrary to the ſuperſtition of late Paſtors. Chap. 2.

Another Miſtake is concerning the proper ſeat or ſubject of Evangelical Liberty. For, divers there are that ſuppoſe that ſuch Liberty we now treat of (for I know there are divers other ſorts of far more excellent nature, but not concerning us at preſent) belongeth immediately and entirely to each ſingle good Chriſtian; which is far from truth and ſobriety to conceive. For Chriſt gave this Donative primarily and immediately to his Church and the Adminiſtrators thereof; that they, according to Chriſt's Charter, ſhould have liberty to inſtitute, abrogate, order, and diſpoſe matters, ſuch Rites and Obſervances as ſhall ſeem to them moſt conducible to the Faith and Worſhip of God under the Goſpel; yet with ſuch limitations both for number and nature, that none be introduced contrary to the tenor thereof, or Analogy of Faith, or tend to the burying of any integral part or practiſe thereof under rubbiſh: yet are not preſently all private Chriſtians allowed to preſide over their Superiors, to the determining what is of evil conſequence, and what not, againſt publike judgement. For Inſtance, To have power to determine the eating

Chap. 2. eating of Fleſh on Friday, or not, is undoubtedly a Liberty Evangelical; but 'tis not immediately poſited in every particular Chriſtian, but the Church Repreſentative; and private perſons have no liberty but as it is diſpenſed by publike Authority. When I call this a Liberty Evangelical, I mean not, as too many do, as if ſuch an indifferency muſt properly belong to Chriſtians; for it doth not. For Infidels, and Heathen have that liberty as fully as Chriſt's Church; and they in Authority amongſt them, may as well grant or deny this Liberty as Chriſtians: and no queſtion but ſuch as are ſubject to them ſhould offend, if they perverſly refuſed to comply with their Superiors orders. Does therefore, think we, Chriſtian Religion and Liberty exempt us from that kind of obedience which is naturally due? For my part, that I hold a double obligation rather of Chriſtians to ſubmit; and that I can rather pity, than help ſuch as are of the contrary Opinion, is all that I ſhall ſay at this time. Yet we ſee that too common amongſt us, which *Calvin* himſelf endeavoured to ſcoff men out of, in theſe Words, *Videas quoſdam quibus ſua libertas non videtur conſiſtere, niſi per eſum carnium die Veneris in ejus poſſeſſionem venerint*, i.e. *You may ſee ſome who ſuppoſe their Liberty cannot hold, unleſs they*

Calvin. Inſtitut. l. 3. c. 9

they take Poſſeſſion of it, by eating Fleſh on Fridays. To conclude then, It is directly repugnant to Chriſtian Liberty to deny, the Church hath power to appoint the uſe, or diſuſe of things Indifferent; and 'tis abſolutly Inconſiſtent with Evangelical Piety and the power of Godlineſs (which conſiſt much in denying our own Wills and Appetites) to glory how eaſily we Contemn ſuch Lawful Orders. Chap. 2.

I had thought to have ſaid ſomewhat againſt the bold Charge of Antichriſtianiſm laid to our Church; and a reaſon, why men, that cannot Rule us, muſt not obey it. But I perceive the Fever of our late Reformers to be ſomewhat abated; and like men newly come out of Calentures, they begin to come to their ſenſes, to ſee they were monſtrouſly out, though not ſo much to their Reaſon, as to make ſatisfaction for ſuch Phrantick Miſcarriages, by a ſober retractation, and diſabuſing of Men, (as in Conſcience they are bound) from that and ſuch like Extravagancies.

Superſtition is another ſore charge againſt our Church, and a reaſon why a Moderation muſt be very expedient and ſeaſonable: And no marvel they, who proceed upon ſuch feeble and falſe notions of their own private invention, ſhould conclude againſt us ſo ſadly: when

Chap. 2. when the truth being duly ſifted, none are more ſuperſtitious than exclaimers againſt Superſtition. And ſuch are all they who place Religion and worſhip in not doing, as much as others in doing things Indifferent: and pretend Conſcience offended in acting, much more than they who are accuſed, in omitting. And this we hold to be a certain Inſtance of Superſtition (according to theſe mens own grounds) to be Religious where the matter is not capable of Religion: and they are in their way Religious, who make a Conſcience of a thing, whether doing, or not doing; and therefore are Superſtitious; and therefore ought better to conſider what they ſo raſhly and ignorantly burden others with, lying, though not in the very ſame kind, under a juſter and greater imputation of the ſame thing.

But for Peace-ſake, and to prevent a Schiſm, we ought to condeſcend to our Brethren, who (to uſe their own Phraſe, which they beſt know what it means) can *come up to us* in many things. But what means this great and ſudden Change in theſe men? Are not they the very ſame, who formerly made it Criminal, yea Capital to Preach Peace, and propound Reconciliation? Yes ſure, but Times, not Manners are altered. Surely

Surely ſomewhat extraordinary is at the bottom of all this. They Act not according to Nature, but outward neceſſity: and ſuch a Peace is not worth the having, which can never be held any longer, than men ſhall be able to break it, or work their ends by Inſinuations and fair Promiſes, open force failing them. Like as it is ſeen with an impure Aſſailant of a chaſte Virgin, the party being Reſcued by an extraordinary Providence out of his wicked Hands, he turns to her again, and tempts her to his Luſt by promiſes of Marriage; but having obtained his ends, deſpiſes, whom he hath undone: Or as the Lion and the mans Daughter, in the *Apologue*: The Lion ſought the Fathers conſent for his Daughter: Very willingly, ſaid the man, upon condition that you will ſuffer your Claws to be pared cloſe, and your Teeth taken out, leſt you hurt my tender Daughter: The Lyons extreme love cauſed him to do ſo; and then demanding his Spouſe, was not only denied her, but, not being able to help himſelf, was knock'd 'oth' head for his kind Condeſcentions. When the Church of *England* hath ſpoiled it ſelf of its proper and natural Guards, then will the fair Diſcipline be monſtrouſly kind to it: and the event every man ſees. But what at length do they intend by their ænigmatical Chap. 2.

Chap. 2.

matical ſpeech of *Coming up to us?* Will they Renounce one branch of their Covenant? Will they for ever lay aſide one of the Cords of their Whip with ſix ſtrings? I have ſeriouſly asked and urged ſome of them, and could not get any laſting Conceſſion, any longer than they ſhall be enabled to exact the whole: And do we admire they ſhould, until that time, ſeem at leaſt ſatisfied with part? Let them name one thing, that for Peace-ſake for theſe Hundred years, they would give to us more than we had before, either of peace, quiet, or unity with them. But very many Relaxations have been made already: and are we awhit the neerer? Or is it not then time to make a ſtop of Diſpenſations; when the Diſpenſation for a time ſhall be alledged againſt the Law, and Canon it ſelf? And it is no kindneſs at all (in their opinions) that ſuch Mitigations and Connivance have been; but Extremity, Tyranny, Injuſtice, Uncharitableneſs to reſtore the Priſtine force and vigour to Eccleſiaſtical Laws. Upon theſe and the like Conſiderations, I conclude with *Tully* to *Antony*. *Quæris quare pacem nolo? Quia turpis; Quia periculoſa; Quia eſſe non poteſt. Would ye know, why I will have no peace? Becauſe it is diſhoneſt, becauſe it is dangerous, and be-*

Cic. Philip. 7.

cauſe

cauſe it cannot be. It muſt needs be diſhoneſt and diſhonourable, becauſe of the conditions required. For they, having extremely ſeparated themſelves from us, and ſtanding at that diſtance firmly, do caſt the odious termes of Extremes, upon them they have ſo left; and call their dragging us to them, *their coming home to us*; and their pulling us down to their pleaſures, their *coming up to us*. And that it is dangerous, appears from manifold Tenets, interpreted clearly againſt their own temporizing Gloſſes; by their apparently wicked attempts and practices. And if there were no more than preſent ambiguous, and two-handl'd Phraſes, whereby they Characterize themſelves, and diſtinguiſh themſelves from others, they are much to be ſuſpected. For we often do hear them Magnifying their Capacities and Genius's, as that they are Free-born Subjects; they are a free ſpirited People; a free-born People; and ſuch like: which as they are ſpecial pieces of flatteries to make the common ſort proud of themſelves, ſo truly we cannot throughly underſtand what they ſignifie: but this we know, ſuch Phraſes change like water, in Weather-glaſſes according to the ſeaſon: If it be a fair and clear time with us, then do they fall down low, to a very tolerable ſenſe; but if fowl and trouble-

Chap. 2.

John Corbet's Intereſt of England, p. 24. p. 57.

Chap. 2.

troubleſome, then do they riſe to a higher Meaning a great deal, and Actions ſuitable. And what poſſibility of Reconciliation and Peace durable is to be expected from thoſe men, whom nothing truly will content leſs than their entire Diſcipline? but if they accept leſs for the preſent, they take it, only as men do debts hard to be got in, in part of payment, until they ſhall be able to recover all. For as *Chryſoſtome* well noteth. As it is ſtupidity to neglect ſuch of whom there is hope: So to attempt the cure of ſuch who are incurable is madneſs, and extreme diſtemper. Hear what the above mentioned Pretended Moderator ſaith, and you will begin to ſee what great hopes, or advantage may be had of them.

Ὥσπερ τὸ τῶν ἐλπίδας ἐχόντας, &c. *Chryſoſt. Serm. 6. in Titum.*

Joh. Corbet's Intereſt. pag. 109.

The Publike State of theſe Differences is ſuch, that the Prelatiſts may, and ought to deſcend to the Presbyterians in the propoſed Moderate Way; but the Presbyterians cannot come up to the Prelatiſts in the hight of their Way. For the Prelatiſts Condeſcention ſtands only in the omiſſion of certain things, which ſeem to them laudable; but the Subjection of the Presbyterians ſtands, in Subſcribing, and Conforming to certain things, which ſeem to them unlawful. Thus he. But, according to what Rule does it appear, which is here weakly and childiſhly taken for granted,

granted, that the *Prelatists* (as this *Jack-straw* miscalls those of the Church of *England*) are so high? Let it be shewed, what is the Mean they have so far exceeded; and what Laws of Church-Government they have, or do Transcend? If they make their Interpretations of Scripture, the Law; their Models, the Rule; their Discipline, the Mean we ought to compare, examine, and judge our selves by; we must confess we are out; we are in the Extreme, we are very high: but who could be so bold besides these men, to expect such a fond and absurd concession? And who so stupid among us, to yield to that most Ridiculous way of Tryal? when We, being the only Legal Visible Church of this Nation, as to outward Constitutions, in all equal Mens reason, have a Right to judge them, and rather condemn them of Extreme, on the contrary side; to which we neither can, nor ought to descend. But it will be said, The Reformed Churches abroad may direct us. Ye are to know, and consider, That there is not One Reformed Church that We can hear of, that (were it their case, as it is yours) would thus tugg, and stand out against us: as Mr. *Durel* hath amply shewed. Again, Our Church hath no such Obligations to receive the Sen- Chap. 2. *Vindication of the Church of England, &c.*

Chap. 2. Sentence of All the Reformed Churches put together; as you have to ſubmit to Ours, as being generally Educated in, and under the ſame. And Thirdly, I Appeal to all the World, What an unwiſe, and ungodly Charity it would be in us ſo to condeſcend to your Pitch, and conceptions of Church-Government, and Orders for the gaining of a very uncertain Peace with you; and thereby put our ſelves out of a poſſibility of having any Communion, or Peace with almoſt infinite Churches abroad; who will receive into Communion and Fellowſhip none that want ſuch things, as you require us to lay away, for love of you. I ſpeak not ſo much of the *Romiſh Church*, as *Greek*, and *Eaſtern Churches*; with whom to hold Communion and Peace, or at leaſt to prevent all juſt exceptions, and grounds of their refuſing Communion with us, by retaining ſuch Conſtitutions and Orders as we now enjoy, is ten times more deſirable, and charitable than for your ſakes to part with them. And we are aſſured, under your devices we ſhall never obtain it. Furthermore, whence hath this Author, what with ſo much confidence, and ſo commonly paſſes for good and current among them, That they

they of the Church hold thoſe things only Laudable, wherein it differeth from *Sectaries?* And that it is not as unlawful, according to our conſciences, to omitt them, as it is with their conſciences to do them? We do not ('tis true) hold them to have any Moral Good in them, of themſelves; and therefore we call them Indifferent: And the *Presbyterians* do not affirm they have any Moral Evil, and therefore grant they may be obſerved. There muſt therefore be ſomething more in the wind than conſcience, on theſe Mens parts, which detain them: For as much as neither they, nor any man elſe, can pretend an offence of conſcience, where there is neither *real*, nor *apparent* Evil: but 'tis a contradiction that any thing ſhould ſo much as *appear* to be Evil, or Sinful, while it appears Indifferent. Therefore; according to the *Presbyterians* own Tenets, they may come up to us; for it can only be pretended to be againſt their conſciences. And if they Alledge any cauſe, why that, which in it ſelf is not Evil, nor againſt their conſcience, may be, and is, upon another account, which 'tis eaſie to gueſs at; I will anſwer, That juſt ſo it is Chap. 2.

Chap. 2. with the Church of *England*: Many things, which being not absolutely, and in themselves good, or necessary, and so consequently may be omitted with a safe conscience, for certain adventitious advantages) and Exteriour Accounts, no whit inferiour to those of the other side, some of which I have even now mentioned) cannot with a good conscience be Abolished, or Omitted. And thus we see the Vanities and Mistakes in alledging Extremities, Moderation, Tyranny, and tender Conscience, in these Cases.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A General determination of the Queſtion according to Reaſon.

THat all Factions, Parties, Perſons, or Religions are not to be Tolerated, or granted Liberty, I think all agree. It will be neceſſary then, in the Firſt place, to lay down certain Diſtinctions, ſerving to judge of the reaſonableneſs of ſuch Inhibition towards ſome, rather than others. And they may concern either the Perſons, or the Religion, or laſtly, the kind of Tolerations or Reſtraint, themſelves.

Perſons pleading for Liberty of Religion are Firſt, either ſuch as are of themſelves altogether Free from any Civil, or Moral Subjection to us, or ſuch as by Birth and Education being Incorporated into the ſame Body, and Polity, are, and ought to be, ſubordinate unto the Head thereof.

Secondly the Religion Inſiſted on, and Pleaded for, is either Repugnant to the light and prime Principles of Nature and humane Society, or conſiſtent with the ſame.

Thirdly, becauſe all Reſtraint Moral, ſuch as is Diſſwaſion, Refutation, Exclu-

Chap. 3. sion from the Society of others, is by the conceſſion of all Parties inſufficient to ſuppreſs a growing Evil, oftentimes; and therefore outward Civil Mulcts, and Puniſhments are in ſuch Caſe to be Inflicted; the diverſity of ſuch Puniſhment is to be conſidered. For according to the Civil Law, Puniſhments are either Corporal, or Non-corporal. And Corporal are either Capital, or Not-capital. Puniſhment Not-corporal is that which diveſts a man of any Profits, Emoluments, or Dignities. Corporal, and Not-capital, is that, which is Inflicted on a mans Body, without taking away the Life. Capital, is that which deſtroys Life. According to theſe therefore, it may be anſwered to the main Querie.

First, That it is not only Lawful and reaſonable to allow a Toleration to Perſons in Co-ordination to us, and not depending upon us, But it is very unjuſt, and unnatural to attempt by Force, to reduce them to our way of ſerving God: For ſuch kind of Force, or Violence cannot be offered, but by Civil Power aſſumed; and Civil Power ought never to be exerciſed, but by Lawful Authority: and they, whom we ſuppoſe to be of diſtinct Societies and Regiments, can have no Legal right to

to invade, or Uſurp upon one another. And this being againſt Juſtice (which always is to be preferred before the beſt Religion) it would be a contradiction to advance and build Religion upon the Ruines of that which Founds all Religion: as *Tertullian* excellently argues. Chap. 3.

Humani juris & naturalis poteſtatis eſt licere unicuique quod putaverit colere; nec alii obeſt aut prodeſt alterius Religio. Sed nec Religionis eſt cogere Religionem, quæ ſponte ſuſcipi debet: non enim, cùm & hoſtiæ animo libenti ſuſcipi expoſtulentur. Tertullianus Ad Scapulam. cap. 2. Vide Thomam 22. qu. 10. Artic. 8. Tertul. Adverſus Gnoſticos, c. 2.

And that *Tertullians* judgement was only for the Toleration of ſuch as were of quite diverſe Religions, and not of ſuch as are, or pretend to be of the ſame Religion, is evident out of what he writes againſt the *Gnoſticks* pretended Chriſtians, thus, *Ad Officium Hæreticos compelli non illici dignum eſt. Duritia vincenda non ſuadenda. It is fit that Hæreticks ſhould be compelled, and not allured. Obſtinacy muſt be ſubdued, and not drawn.*

And if this holds good in Perſons Co-ordinate, ſo far that it is moſt unjuſt for Either to impoſe upon Other their Faith, or Worſhip: it can ſcarce be expreſſed, the horrible crime and unjuſtice of them, who, being as Legally Subordinate and Subject as 'tis poſſible for People to be, take the confidence to Arm, to the end, they may reduce their Prince, and Paſtors to the Rule of their Conſciences; And having oppreſſed both, though failing in their Main deſign, the Scene changed, to exceed themſelves in Immodeſty, and demand that benefit, they

Chap. 3. would no ways grant others, whom they had no right at all to deny; upon reasons infinitely Inferiour to them they awhile ſince rejected. In theſe ſhameful ſtraits, they ſay with one of their late Politicians, *The Presbyterian Party in England, never engaged under a leſs Authority, than That of both Houſes of Parliament.* Good Sir, clear up, and ſpeak out. Did they do well, or not, in ſo Engaging, even with both Houſes on their ſide? If they did well, then did we very ill to Oppoſe and Reſiſt; Then were all your Enemies Rebels, the King himſelf not excepted: Then why do you not Preach Repentance to us, as we do to you? Then will you, then may you, nay, then ought you to do ſo again; as we profeſs we are bound to do, and always did in our greateſt Perſecutions: And are you not well to be look'd to, think you? But your Caſe is ſtill worſe: For it will never be granted, what is here ſuppoſed, *viz.* That thoſe Two Houſes were Houſes of Parliament, but a *Conventicle* of Private men, after the expulſion of that part of the Lords-Houſe; which have been proved to be no leſs Eſſential to a Parliament than the remaining States, had they remained with the *Presbyterians:* but 'tis apparent, not the Major part continued with them, but manifeſted againſt them: But eſpecially,

Corbet's Intereſt of Engl. p. 57.

eſpecially, the *Kings* Authority with- Chap. 3.
drawn from them, they, like *Sampſon* the *Nazarite* being ſhaven, became as other men, and the Spirit of Power, and all Legal Authority departed from them. Or, if after all theſe Ruines and Dilapidations, they muſt ſtill be called Houſes; in what doth *Presbyterian* excel the following Factions, who had thoſe things they called Two Houſes too, and with no more prejudices?

But my Author proceeds, and indeed ſpeaks plainly. *I have read* (ſaith he) *That the Parliament of* England, *is of a Twofold capacity.* First, *Repreſenting the People, as Subjects; and ſo, that it can do nothing but manifeſt their Grievances, and Petition for Relief.* Secondly, *By the Conſtitution, it hath part in the Soveraignty; and ſo it hath part in the Legiſlative Power, and in the final judgment.* You have read. You may have read, and that from your own party, infinite paſſages of Sedition, and Treaſon: But had you ſo little Wit and Loyalty, pretending ſo much to both, as to publiſh and approve it, and to juſtifie wicked practices by as bad Principles? But they are in the Faction ſtill, and though like Water in a ſpunge or clout, ſcarce diſcernible when let alone, being preſſed a little, out they come. But muſt he that ſpeaks Treaſon, ſpeak Nonſenſe, and Impoſſibilities too? *Corbet's Intereſt of Engl. p. 57.*

For,

Chap. 3. For, 'tis not poſſible that the ſame perſons ſhould conſiſt of ſuch a contradictory capacity, as that of the Subject and Soveraign. But I return:

It is worſe than Barbarous to Attach, or Oppreſs any People, meerly upon account of Religion, not repugnant to the Light of Nature; as I ſhall ſhew by and by: For otherwiſe, Religion, whoſe chief End is to conſerve Mankind in Peace and Juſtice, would turn the Earth upſide down, and fill the World with inceſſant combuſtions, and Maſſacres. For it will be as reaſonable that the *Infidel*, and *Indians* ſhould Invade the *Chriſtian* upon that ſcore, as the *Chriſtian* Him. And then, where will ſuch Depredations end?

Thom. 22. Quaſt. 10. Art. 8. Τὸ βιάζεσθαι καὶ ἕλκειν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν αὐλεξουσίους γεγονότας, εὐπρεπὲς ἐκ ἔστιν οὐτὲ δικαῖον. *Iſidor. Peluſiot. l. 3. Epiſt. 362.*

Again, as *Thomas* hath obſerved, Religion being a Free Thing, there is no Reaſon *Infidels* ſhould be thereunto Compelled. Nay, as *Iſidore Peluſiotes* noteth well, To Force and Dragg others to the true Religion, who are abſolutely at their own diſpoſal, neither is, nor ſeems Decent or Convenient. And *Lactantius* ſaith, *Non opus vi & injuriâ, quia Religio cogi non poteſt.* There is no need of Force and Injury, foraſmuch as Religion cannot be Compelled.

Lactant. Lib. 5. Inſtit. cap. 19.

And

Chap. 3.

And St. *Ambroſe* Teſtifies truly, That *Chriſt ſent his Apoſtles to ſow the Faith, who were not to Compel, but Teach, nor to Exerciſe Force, or Power, but extol the Doctrine of Humility.* And agreeable thereunto St. *Hillary* writes, *Deus cognitionem ſui docuit potiùs quàm exegit*, *God rather Taught*, than *Extorted the knowledge of himſelf.* To theſe, and this effect, I might add ſuch Fathers as *Monſieur Duillee* hath collected; endeavouring, (though in vain,) to prove thereby, that the preſent Church hath fallen from the Opinions of the Auncient, becauſe they were againſt Compulſion in point of Religion; which, with what I have obſerved ſeeming to favour Liberty in Religion, is eaſily anſwered by diſtinguiſhing of Perſons educated in, and ſubject to a Church, to whom they never granted a Licenciouſneſs of this Nature; from ſuch as were not under any Obligation of Obedience and Conformity to a Society: Of theſe they are to be interpreted, and not of them. For herein they followed the Doctrine of S. *Paul* who ſays, *What have I to do to judge them that are without?* And of theſe, are the words of the *Pſalmiſt* to be underſtood; abuſed by trifling *Sectaries*: *Thy People ſhall be willing in the day of thy Power.* Which implies, a freeneſs of conſent to the Service and Faith of Chriſt

Chriſtus Apoſtolos miſit ad ſeminandam fidem, qui, &c. *Ambroſ. In Luc. Lib. 7.* *Pict. ad Conſtant.* *Joan: Duil: De Vero uſu Patrum. Lib. 2. c. 6.*

1 Cor. 5. 12.

Pſa. 110. 13.

Chap. 3. Christ under the Gospel, in such as first received the knowledge thereof.

Secondly, According to the Second Distinction, it may be said, that there being some Religions not only contrary to ours, but even to the Light, and commonly received Law of Nature, such are not only, not to be admitted into any Christian Commonwealth; but it is Lawful for Christians or not Christians, in vindication of Common-Laws of Nature, even such, which being once and lightly offered to the consideration of such as do not observe the same, do in a manner constrain Assent thereunto; provided that Interest, Passion, and unnatural Vices have not taken away that sight, which Nature had given. For we know
2 Cor. 4. 4. who says, *That the God of this World blinds the eyes of some:* and who saith,
2 Pet. 3. 5. *Some things men are wilfully ignorant of.* Therefore Actual Ignorance neither excuses, nor exempts men from Punishment, even of such, as are not in Political Authority over them. The reason whereof is, Because, however the World be divided into several Countries, and those Countries sub-divided into several Nations and Governments absolute in themselves, as to Political Administration; yet are All Men of the same flesh
Act. 17. 26. and Blood, and kind, and nature, yea, Com-

Commonwealth, and Family, as to certain Principles of Reason, and Nature, which are as Laws containing men in the same Society; and as to the Design that God had in placing Man upon Earth, which was to live at least so Humanely, as might continue the Work of Gods hands upon Earth, and the Recognition of a Superior Cause of them, and Power and Dominion over them, which is a Deity; contrary to which, is that most brutish and degenerous Sin of *Atheism*. For though *Atheism*, be not a Religion (of which we now speak), yet it is to be reduced to this Subject, as all Privations are there to be handled, where their habits are properly treated of. Now the *Stoicks*, (as *Laertius* tells us,) were wont to make a Two-fold *Atheism*; *Dogmatical*, whereby men not only know no God, bnt would prove There is no God: And *Practical*, whereby men in general having a true, but weak, and obscure knowledge of God, do, as the Apostle saith, *live as without God in the World*; as if there were no such thing Existenr. But we shall rather divide *Atheists* into Purely Negative, such as have, nor ever had, no knowledge of a God; and Positive, such as have had the knowledge, and sense of a *Deity*; and after, are fallen into

Chap. 3.

Τὸν φαῦλον Ἄθεον λέγουσι Δίττον δ' ἔτι τὸ ἄθεον, τὸ τε ἐναντίως τῷ θεῷ λεγόμενον καὶ τὸ τε ἐξουθενητικὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Diog Laert. In Zenone. Ephes. 2. 12.*

Chap. 3. into ſuch open *Apoſtaſie*, and *Defiance*, that they *Dogmatize* ſuch Unnatural Opinions. Of theſe Latter, we hold it juſt and reaſonable, that, where they live mixt with other People who do revere a *Deity*, they ſhould be put to Death, after ſerious and plain Propoſal made of their Abominable Errors; without any Laborious, or Learned controverting the Point.

And one would think the fine *Athenian* Wits of our days ſhould give us leave to be as ſerious and zealous for our Religion, or for Religion in General as were the *Athenians* of old: who, as *Lactantius* tells us, burnt the books of *Protagoras* the Philoſopher and expelled him their Country, becauſe he held an opinion, that it was not certain whether there were a God not. A while after there ſprang up *Diagoras* and *Theodorus Cyrenæus* much of the humour and diſpoſition of our new Monſters in Philoſophy: *who (as* Lactantius *well noteth) becauſe their wits would not ſerve them to find out any new thing,* [worth any thing] *all things being before them diſcovered, and ſaid, they choſe to deny that, againſt truth, in which all former Philoſophers had conſented, without ambiguitie*; and that was the Providence of God: which who ever denies muſt neceſſarily deny God, and he that denies God, denies himſelf

Lactant. De Irâ Dei, c. 9.

Maluerunt contra veritatem id negare in quo priores univerſi ſinè ambignitate conſenſerant, &c. Lactant. Ib.

to

to be a man. And what ſhould hinder, but that ſuch a dull and monſtrous burden of the earth ſhould be ſunk to the place from whence he came? Chap. 3.

And this affirmeth *Perkins*, before me, in theſe Words, *As for thoſe that are commonly called* Atheiſts, *which deny that there is a God, they are to be puniſhed with Death, as not worthy to live in humane Society; and the greateſt Torment, that can be deviſed by the Wit of Man, is too good for them: For, if they be holden for Traytors to an Earthly Prince, and are moſt deſervedly adjudged to Death, &c.* But I ſuppoſe, a greater reaſon than this, is, The certain Deſtruction which ſuch Embruriz'd men do bring to humane Society it ſelf: which, whoever is a direct and profeſſed Enemy unto, may be put to Death, as lawfully as Wolfs, Lions, and Tygers: And yet, not at the pleaſure, or Power of every one that meets them, as wild Beaſts may, becauſe Judgement, againſt the moſt open Malefactors condemned by the Law, muſt not be executed, but by Sentence, and Commiſſion from the Supreme Power. For to make good one part of Juſtice, we muſt not deſtroy another: nor ſecure Gods Ordinance in one Point, by endangering it in another. But it is Gods Ordinance, that the Supreme Power ſhould be reſpected and obeyed; and it is ſcarce poſſible,

Perkins Caſes of Conſcience. Lib. 2. cap. 2.

Chap. 3. poſſible, that any Commonwealth ſhould be of any long continuance, where private Perſons take on them to adminiſter or execute Juſtice, upon their own preſumptions. And if it be, as the wit of ſome *Atheiſts* lead them to conceive, that Religion is only a trick of Policy, to keep men in order, and obedience to their Superiours, and that they do confeſs, that it is neceſſary to keep together a Civil Society; do they deſerve any thing leſs than Death, who ſhall treacherouſly diſcover, and endeavour to Null ſuch a Myſtery of State, without which Humane Society cannot be maintain'd? *Chryſoſtome* was ſo zealous againſt *Atheiſts* as to adviſe thus: *If you chance to meet any in the High-ways or in the Market-place, who blaſphemeth God, draw up to him, and rebuke him: and if need requires, ſmite him, and ſhrink not. Strike him on the Face: beat him on the chaps. Hallow thy Fiſt by the blow. And if any call thee to an account for it; If thou beeſt had before the Judgement Seat for it, go along with them. And if the Judge puniſhes thee for it; tell him plainly, that he ſpake evil of the King of Angels. For if it be reaſonable to puniſh him who ſpeaks ill of an Earthly King, much more him that wrongs God*, &c. Thus he. *Eſcobar* tells us the Practice of *Spain* to be againſt Blaſphemers, *That for a Light Blaſphemy,*

Chryſoſt. Tom. 6. pag. 460. Ed. Sav.

Escob. Theol. Mor. Tract. 5 Exam 2. c 4.

Blaſphemy, he only abjures it: Yet, the Punishment doth anſwer the Sin. v. g. *If they Blaſpheme out of ſudden Anger, or ſome other Paſſion, they are Condemned to the Gallies: or elſe ſtanding bare Foot, and bare Head, girt with a Cord, and holding a Light Torch in their Right hand, they ſtand in ſome Feſtival day in the Church, and the Service being ended, they receive their Sentence with the reſt of their Penances,* i. e. *Faſtings, Prayers, and Pecuniarie Mulcts.* And where Authority is Defective and Remiſs, in this ſo horrible Provocation; It is obſerved by many dreadful Inſtances, how God himſelf taketh Vengeance: as, amongſt others, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* tells us, How, in the year of Grace 501, *Olympus* a moſt Mad Fellow, while bathing he blaſphemed the Holy *Trinity*, was conſumed with a Fiery Thunder-bolt falling on him from Heaven. Thus he, And the like ſtory hath *Matthew Paris* alſo, who tells us, how that *certain ſpreaders abroad of corrupt doctrine, at* Oxford, *in the Raign of* Henry *the Second, were brought to juſtice before the King and the Biſhops of the Realm, who being found ſwerving from the Catholique Faith, and upon examination convicted, had their Faces Stigmatized, that all might take notice of them, and ſo were expelled the Realm.* This was the Zeal of King and Church in thoſe days: but alaſs! now

Chap. 3

Matt. Weſtm. pag. 182.

Matt. Pariſ. in Hen. 2. Ann. 1166.

Chap. 3. now Blasphemies beget friendly smiles & favour in Great ones: & abominable turpitudes are passed over with such kind of Fines, that are almost as soon begged off, by the reward of the twentieth part, or perhaps less of the Summe imposed, as they are laid on. And that, not only Corporal, but even Capital Punishment is due to such an one, doth from hence appear; because a man being of a Religion which asserts the *Deity* under such and such Forms, or Notions; the Professed dishonouring thereof implies a self Condemnation, and with all such an unnatural humour of impiety, which leads him against all Religions, and humane Practice.

Cunæus De Republic. Hebræ. l.1. c.1 Item Maimonides in Misnâ Tract. de Regibus c.9. Tertul. Apol. c 8. August. Civit. Dei, l.7 c.19. Alex. ab Alexand. l.6 c.26. Ludovic. Vives in Aug. de Civ Dei. Hugo Grot. contra Socin. p.200,201, 202. Bod. De Repub. l.1 c.5

And it is observed by *Cunæus*, That such was the Force of the Seven Precepts of *Noah*, and extended so to all men, that the *Israelites* were commanded, such who were ignorant of them to slay by War, and remove them from humane Society.

Again, it were (I suppose) Lawful for any Prince, or Person to compel any people that should Worship their God, or gods by the Sacrifice of Mankind: And yet we read how far this Deviliſh superstition prevailed over the World, as may appear from *Tertullian*, *Austin*, *Alexander ab Alexandro*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Grotius*, and others. In a Word, Learned *Bodin* tells us,

That

That there was never any People, or Nation, who imagined not that the gods might be pacified with humane Sacrifices; such as the Peruvians *and* Brasilians *at this day use.* And, that the *Canaanites* in ancient days accustomed themselves to such Sacrifices, *Offering their Sons and Daughters unto Molech, that Fiery Idol*; the Scripture Testimonies are many, and express, and not to be eluded by the vain and bold glosses of Rabbies attempting, I suppose, to extenuate the foul *Apostasies* of their Predecessors; and that Children were not kill'd, and burnt, but drawn only through two Piles of Fire, and so Consecrated to *Molech*, as Master *Selden* hath observed out of them. But that *Molech* was the same with *Saturne*, and the *Phœnicians* offered to him such inhumane Humane Sacrifices, *Porphyrie*, witnesseth; which agrees perfectly, with the Practice of the *Carthaginians*, who themselves, together with their Superstitious Abominations, descended from the *Phœnicians*. For that the *Carthaginians* used to Offer such Sacrifices, *Plutarch*, not only assureth us, but tells us who, and upon what occasion, caused that Custome to cease. For *Gelon* King of *Syracuse*, having Conquered them, would not make peace with them, unless they would first give over Sacrificing their Children to *Saturne*. Possibly, this unnatural

Chap. 3.

2 Kin 23.10 Jer 32,33, 36. Psal. 106. v. 37,38,39. Jer. 7.31. Selden de diis Syris Syntag. 1. c. 6 Porphyr. Περὶ Ἀποχῆς. l. 2.

Οὐ πρότερον εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς δεομένους, ἢ καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς συνθήκαις περιλαβεῖν, ὅτι παύσονται τὰ τέκνα τῷ Κρόνῳ καταθύοντες, Plutarch. Περὶ βραδέως, &c.

Chap. 3. natural Religion took its Original from the Design of *Abraham* Offering up his Son *Isaac*; which, being performed amongst the *Phœnicians*, might be cause of mis-understanding to them, as Innumerable acts of the *Patriarchs* and *Israelites* were first corruptly imitated by the neighbouring *Heathens*, and by them transmitted and propagated into other parts: so that it was not an inward suggestion of Nature, though very common, so much as Imitation.

Again, were it so, that any Nation should freely admit, and practise the unnatural Sin of Coupling with Beasts after the manner of humane Sexes; I doubt not but it were Lawful, and Laudable in any Forrein Prince, to endeavour the abolishing of such a Custom, by Force of Arms, because this is against humane Nature, by confounding the Species of Man.

In the Last place, according to our distinctions, we are to consider the kind, and condition of punishment to be inflicted upon Offenders against Religion; of which, in the ensuing Chapters.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That the Ancients, as well Chriſtian as un-Chriſtian, conſtantly denied Toleration of Religions diſſonant and contrary.

IT is a moſt frequent and plauſible Maxime, which *Sectaries* have got by the end, to ſlip their Necks from the uneaſie Yoke of Government, and duty of Obedience incumbent on them, many times againſt their Wills and Intereſts; *He is moſt a King that rules in the Hearts of his Subjects; and that Prince is always beſt ſerved, and obeyed, who by gentleneſs and kindneſs gains the good will of his People.* And this, though it hath much truth, ſoberly underſtood and modeſtly taken; yet, as by diverſe of late applied, includes in it a world of Knavery and Miſchief. For when will that be, that a Prince ſhall win the hearts of ſuch diſſatisfied, and fond perſons as theſe? But when he ſhall lay the Scepter ſo lightly over them, as not to hurt them; when he ſhall give them ſo much Line, as that they may do what they pleaſe; when he ſhall remit, and relax the curbing and puniſhing part of the Laws ſo far, as that they may be dillied with, and play-

Chap. 4. ed with at pleaſure, without Cenſure; when they may Innovate according to the phanſies of their own Brains, and Luſts of their Hearts. Such a King as this is fit to Rule over a Free Spirited people, Free-born Subjects: and then ſhall he have their hearts, when he requires, and can command nothing elſe. But methinks ſuch ſhould do well, to think ſometimes upon Rules of good Subjects: and that he is a good Subject (according to S. *Paul*) who doth all things [Lawful and Honeſt] without murmuring, and diſputing; and that makes a Conſcience of limiting his Superiours in their commands, where God hath not Limited; and ſhould ſpend ſome of that time, and ſhew ſome of that piety, which they profeſs, in regulating and aſſiſting their Superiours, by their precepts to govern them well, in putting in practice the difficult Art of obeying Well: which Fleſh and Blood takes ſo little content in, that nothing is more ungrateful to them, and an unmortified carnal Man diſcovers himſelf in nothing more, than in that humour. But this the Learning of the wiſeſt, and common Experience may teach us; that, as no Society of men can ſubſiſt without Laws, ſo no Laws without Coercion and Force; and no Coercion can take place without puniſhment. For as *Tullie* in *Brutus*, and *Plutarch*

Plutarch after him; All Commonwealths continue and reſt upon Two principal Columns, puniſhments and Benefits. For neither is Vertue ſo excellent and amiable in the eyes of all, no, nor Religion, nor piety; as that men ſhould be ſo Raviſh't with their intrinſick beauty, as to need no External Motives to commend them to us, and excite our Affections; neither is there ſuch a loathſome Turpitude, or eminent danger in Vice, Hereſie, or Impiety, as that, no outward Diſcouragements propounded, men of themſelves, muſt as neceſſarily Flee from them, as they do from Serpents, or Mad-Dogs. Chap. 4.

Plato therefore aſſigneth Two principal Ends in puniſhing Malefactors: Firſt, Satisfaction for the wrong done unto the Community, by the Offence committed. Secondly, Prevention of like Miſcariages, by bringing a Terrour upon others. *Seneca* makes Three Cauſes of inflicting puniſhment. Firſt, that the puniſhed may be amended. Secondly, or others corrected by their Sufferings. Thirdly, That the Evil being taken away, the Good may be more ſafe. Somewhat, not much differing from theſe, doth *Galen* likewiſe give Three Reaſons of puniſhment. Firſt, leſt they ſhould miſchief the Good. Secondly, That a few being Chaſtiſed, others may be Reformed. Thirdly, That

Plato in Gorgiâ

Seneca de Clement. l. 1. c. 21. Pœna ad tria reſpicere debet, Aut ut eum quem punit emendet; aut ut pœna ejus cæteros meliores reddat; aut ſublatis malis ſecuriores cæteri vivant.

Galenus Quod Mores ſequuntur, &c.

Chap. 4. That wicked Men proceed not too far in wickedneſs: All which, hold no leſs in a Religious Commonwealth, than Prophane. For, what ſafety can the ſound Sheep be in, amongſt whom the corrupt and rotten ſhall be permitted to Walk? And what ſecurity can the Righteous and true Believer be in, ſo long as the Infectious Doctrine and Example of
2 Tim. 2. 17. *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks* do creep and eat like a Grangrene, whereby the whole Body is in great danger to be diſſolved, and diſſipated? And the Apoſtle
1 Tim. 5. 20. adviſeth *Timothy to rebuke them that ſin, before all, that others alſo may fear.* It hath been therefore the conſtant practice of the Church of Chriſt, for the better conſerving it ſelf in Unity, and Charity; Firſt, to admoniſh and rebuke Litigious Diſſenters and Dividers; and, that not taking due effect, to proceed to ſuch ſevere puniſhment, as may render ſuch unable to Propagate their miſchievous Tenets. And not the Church only hath taken this neceſſary courſe, but even *Heathens* have thought it neceſſary to deny a Liberty of Introducing new devices into Religion, to the diſturbance, and Diſſettlement of Others. For *Valerius Maximus* ſheweth, how that certain Books being found in *Rome*, making againſt the Eſtabliſhed Religion; the City-*Prætor*, by command

Valerius Max. l. c. 1.

of

of the *Senate*, cauſed them to be burned. And *Tullie* tells us of *Protagoras Abderites*, that having wrote certain Books of dangerous conſequence to Religion, he was Baniſhed by the *Athenians* out of their City and Countrey, and his Books burnt in an open Aſſembly. Chap. 4.

Guilielmus Pariſienſis reporteth it to have been a Law amongſt the *Romanes*, That none ſhould be accounted or worſhipped for Gods, which were not ſo Decreed to be. And *Plato* witneſſeth that *Socrates* was put to death by the *Athenians*, becauſe he Invented new Gods. Yea, *Diodorus Siculus* writeth, that the *Athenians* threatened death to any, that ſhould ſpeak againſt their Heatheniſh Religion. And *Tullie* relateth it amongſt the Laws of Twelve Tables, *No man muſt have new or ſtrange Gods*, neither muſt any worſhip in private, other Gods than have been publikely received. And therefore *Dio* writeth how that the Senate cauſed the Temples of *Iſis* and *Serapis* to be pulled down, which were built before they had decreed them to be Gods.

Nullus abſq; decreto eorum colere-tur, nec haberetur Deus eorum. Guil. Pariſ. De Legibus, c. 24. Plato in Apolog. Socrat. Diodorus Siculus, l. 13. Cicero De Legibus, l. 2. Dio, l. 40.

And what is ſo manifeſt, as the ſore Perſecutions the *Jews* ſuffered under *Antiochus* for their Religion? and, How many and dreadful Perſecutions Chriſtians ſuffered under the *Heathen Emperors* for the Faith of Chriſt? Inſomuch, that it

2 Maccab. 6. 1. Vide Sixtum Senenſ. Biblioth. l. 2. p. 39.

Chap. 4.

it is observed by *Polydore Vergil*, and others; that from S. *Peter* to *Sylvester* the First, there being Thirty two *Bishops* of *Rome*, all saving Seven, were *Martyriz'd*. But when Christian Religion, partly by the Invincible Fortitude of Believers, and partly by the favour of some *Christian Emperors* became Publike and rooted, and many were sprung up from the Loyns of *Christian Parents*, so that they never tasted of Gentilism; it seemed reasonable to that greatest Enemy to Christians, to constrain none to Gentile-Worship. For thus he writeth to one of his Governours. Οὐδένα οὖν ἀνῶν ἀκόντα πρὸς βωμὸς ἐλκύσθαι. *We permit not that any of the Christians should be forced to our Altars.*

Polydorus Virgil, l. 8. cap. 1. Invent. Rer.

*Jul. Epist. 52 *Nec de Veteri Testam. profero exemplaquamvis etiam Prophetici exemplis doceri illa dixisti. Illa, in quam, nimis antiqua non profero; fuerunt enim alterius dispensationis & Temporis. Augustl. 4. Contra Cresc. Grammat.*

*But to draw nearer, I shall with S. *Austine* disputing this against *Cresconius*, wave the Instances which may be brought out of the Old-Testament, because they may be said to be of a diverse *Oeconomie*, from those of the New. But most manifest it is, that such as varied from the Religion in which they were Educated, were to be Cut off from their People; which I know is diversely understood, but by All acknowledged to be a severe Punishment. And besides it is undeniable, that such as would not hear the Priests, whom God had set over them in matters of Religion, were to be put to Death.

Exod. 22. v. 21. Deut. 13. 12, 13, 14, 15. Deut. 17. 12.

Death. Let us see what was the Practice of the Christian-Church.

Chap. 4.

Learned *Pietro Paolo* of *Venice*, seemeth to dislike Persecution for *Heresie*: in that, treating of the *Inquisition* he argues against it from the Practice of the Church until *Constantine* the Great his time; saying, that until the Reign of *Constantine*, i. e. Three hundred and Twenty years after Christ, no Penalties were inflicted upon *Hereticks*. But I cannot but marvel, such a judicious Person should take that to be an argument of the Churches Opinion, That *Hereticks* ought not to be punished; when as, until *Constantine's* days, the Church was never possessed of any Civil Power; and it knew well enough it was against Christian Religion to Usurp it, though to the favouring and furthering of the same. But scarce was *Constantine* rid of that Tyrant, and Heathen, *Lycinius*, but, as *Lycinius*, out of Zeal, persecuted the Christians (which was the Ground of their quarrel, how ever malicious *Zozimus* Fables it otherwise.) *Constantine* endeavoured the suppressing of the Idolatrous *Gentile-Worship*, commanding (as *Optatus* telleth us) the *Temple Doors* of the *Gentiles* to be shut up, and that the Christian Religion should be only protected, and maintained Publikely. And *Euse-*

Pietro Paolo History of Inquisition. pag. 6.

Non invenitur exemplum in Evangelicis & Apostolicis Literis, aliquid petitum à Regibus terræ pro Ecclesiâ. Quis negat non inveniri. Sed nondum implebatur illa prophetia. Et nunc Reges intelligite, &c. Psal. 2. Aug. Epist. 48.

Optatus Melevita, l. 2. Contra Parm.

Ὅσοι δ' ἑλλὴν νίζειν ἐδόκουν, τούτους θύειν ἀπείρητο, *&c Eusebius de Vita Constant. l. 2. c. 43, 44.*

Ἐκεῖνο μὲν τοι προαγορεύω ὡς ἄν τις σύγγραμα ὑπ' Ἀρείου *& Socratis Hist. l. 2. c. 6. Nicephor. l. 8. c. 25.*

bius

Chap. 4.

bius tells us, that he not only cauſed their *Idol Temples* to be ſhut up, but prohibited Sacrifices to them. And this his zeal did not end only in deſtroying *Idolatry*, but extended to *Hereſie* alſo. For, after the Firſt Council of *Nice* had determined the Faith Controverted, *Conſtantine* made it an Offence Capital, ſo much as to conceal *Heretick* Books; as *Socrates* and *Nicephorus* relate. *Auſtine* likewiſe, in an Epiſtle againſt the *Donatiſts* ſheweth, how after the *Donatiſts* Appeal to the Emperour, againſt *Fælix* who ordained *Cæcilianus*, had been heard and rejected by *Helianus* the *Proconſul*, and that he was declared Innocent, that *Conſtantine* the Firſt made a Decree moſt ſtrict againſt the *Donatiſts*; and that his Son after him followed therein his Steps, which continued until *Julians* Reign, who, *Deſertor Chriſti & inimicus, ſupplicantibus veſtris Rogatiano & Pontio, libertatem perditioni Partis Donati permiſit*, An Apoſtate from Chriſt, and an Enemy, *at the ſupplication of your Rogatianus* and *Pontius*, gave Liberty to the pernicious Sect of *Donatus*. And S. *Ambroſe* makes it no ſmall matter of his praiſe of *Gratian*, *That he brought peace and quietneſs to the Church, and ſtopped the mouths* (*of* Arians:) *and would to God* (ſaith he) *you could have ſhut the hearts of ſuch wicked men, and miſchievous*;

Auguſtinus Epiſt. 166. Donec Fælix ipſe juſſu, &c.

Ambroſ. Epiſt. 26: Id. De Fide l. 3. c. 3.

vous; And that, this he did *aſwel by the Faith, as his own Power.* And no wonder that Father ſhould ſo write, who ſaith alſo, That *Hæreticks are more abominable, than the very* Jews *that crucified Chriſt.* And *Theodoret* relates at large, how *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Iconium* prevailed with *Theodoſius*, to exclude the *Arian* Conventicles out of the Cities. And *Bellarmine*, in the Life of *Theodoſius* relateth, that *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* publiſhed an Imperial Edict, whereby they decreed, that the *Pelagians* ſhould be wholly ſuppreſſed and expelled *Rome*: and after ſent their Reſcript to *Aurelius*, Biſhop of *Carthage* in which they Commanded that they ſhould be driven out of *Africa*. And, as Cardinal *Hoſius* hath obſerved, there is Extant amongſt the Proemial Epiſtles to the Council of *Calcedon*, an Epiſtle of *Pulcheria* the Empreſs to the Governour of *Bythinia*, to expel out of the City and Places, where that Council was to be held, all Clergymen, Monks, and Lay-men, who would by no means be brought to the Council.

Chap. 4.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 16.

Bellarm. in Vita Theod. p. 285, & 286.

Hoſius De Concilio Oeconom. c. 24.

It is true indeed that *Valentinian* the Elder gave great Licence to almoſt all Sects and Hereſies: but he who conſiders the temper of that Prince will not long wonder at ſuch his indifferency. He was in truth a gentle and good-natur'd man (as men ſpeak commonly) but

Chap. 4.

but extremely addicted to the unlawful love of women, as appears by his assuming to himself, as wife, the beautiful *Justina*, being before lawfully wedded to virtuous *Severus*: And having thus notoriously offended against both Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws, it must needs be a torment to him to be noted for singularity in vice and irreligion. And therefore provided by Law to justifie his own coolness in Religion, that none should be persecuted for Religion, and refused to interpose in Religious matters, as not caring which end went forward, when his brother *Valens* was zealous for the *Arians*. And for this is he severely censured by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. But can any man hope otherwise, or expect better of such a Voluptuous effeminate Prince as he was, who, being plunged in vice and wantonness, made it Lawful for any man who pleased to have two wives, should otherwise than favour and promote such a Licentiousness in Religion too? Or are the Decrees of such Princes, who egregiously offending against all that is Sacred in Religion and sober Laws, could heartily wish there were no such thing as Religion to accuse them, be esteemed as Competent Judges of Religion, and it's Concerns? It is true, what Bishop *Bilson* hath observed, concerning *Gratians* Toleration of all,

Socrates Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 1. Sozomenus, l. 6. c. 6.

Bilson, True difference between Christian Subjection and, &c. p. 19, 20.

all, at his First entrance into the Empire, That finding all places full of *Arians*; and the Laws of *Valens* his Uncle, making for them; Fearing some general Tumult, if he should presently distress so many, gave leave, that every Religion should have Churches and Oratories, with freedom and immunity; but being once setled and joyned with *Theodosius*, he commanded that all *Hæresies* should keep silence for ever. And this was the course, as *Beda* well observeth, which *Ethelbert* the *Saxon* King took; who, being converted to the Christian Faith himself, gave order that none of his Subjects should be compelled to become Christians; only he shewed them most favour, and kindness, who embraced that Faith which he did. And the reason hereof, is observable in the same Author, *Didicerat enim & a Doctoribus, Autoribusque suæ salutis, servitium Christi voluntarium, non coactitium esse debere*: For he learn'd from the Masters and Authors of saving Doctrine, That Christs Worship ought to be Voluntary, and not Compelled. But the First of our Nation, That by Law destroyed Idolatry, was *Ecombertus*, in the Year, 640. who also commanded that the Fast of fourty days should be observed through his whole Kingdom. *Quæ ne facilè à quopiam possint contemni, dignas punitiones fieri in transgressores*

Chap. 4.

Beda, l. 1. c. 26. Hist.

Matth. West. monasteriens. p. 224.

Chap. 4.

transgressores jussit, saith *Matthew* of *Westminster*. *Which lest any might contemn at his pleasure, he commanded that condign punishment should be inflicted on the breakers of it.* And because it may be that some *Hereticks* will plead for favour, from the carriage of *Ethelbert* above mentioned, it is to be noted, that there is a vast difference between *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*; and *Heathens*, who never had Knowledge of the Truth: as Bishop *Bilson* hath truly noted, upon the like occasion; saying, *Hereticks, of all sects and sorts, may be compelled to follow truth, though Infidels might not; and so your Inference faileth when you say, No Law forceth Jews, or Pagans from their Perswasion, therefore not Christians. Nay rather, if we grant Jews, and Turks excusable for these two Reasons, Lack of Knowledge, and Want of Promise; certainly, Papists being neither void of the First, nor free from the Last, may, yea must, be compelled of Christian-Magistrates, for dread of Punishment temper'd with good Instructions, to forsake their Heresies, and forbear their Idolatries wherewith Christ is dishonored and his truth defaced.* Thus he: Whereby their Plea is further made Void, who argue from Toleration of *Heathen*, over whom there is no Authority, the Liberty due to Christians, who do owe submission as well in general, by being Members

Bilson Difference between Christian Subj. &c. p. 16.

Members of ſuch a Society, as particular, by way of Promiſe, either Implicite, or Explicite; which each man makes to the Body, to which he is to conform in all Lawful things in themſelves: not meaſuring things Lawful by the Bent of our Conſciences (than which nothing can be more proudly contrived) but by the ſtraitneſs of ſome Rule ſuperiour to them both. Now that Chriſtian Antiquity was, much more than Heathen, of opinion that Idolaters, Heretiques, and Schiſmatiques ought by the ſevere and vigilant hand of the Protectours and Defenders of the Church and Faith to be bridled and ſuppreſſed, S. *Auguſtine* (of whom we ſhall ſpeak more by and by) doth ſufficiently declare, and that not by his ſingle opinion, but theſe ſeven reaſons, in an Epiſtle againſt the *Donatiſts*, who were no more Heretiques than ſuch as from the Innocency of their Belief would perſwade to Toleration. His arguments contracted are theſe. 1. *Firſt to ſuffer men in this manner were indeed to render evil for evil.* i. e. They having injured the Faith, and afflicted and miſchiefed the Church by their Religion, to ſuffer them, and let them alone, were to take revenge of them. Which anſwers a Plea for Licence to believe what men think fit: which I have heard from no mean Perſons out of the Pulpit. 'Tis

Chap. 4.

Auguſtinus Epiſt. 48.

Chap. 4. *Puniſhment enough to erre in Faith of it ſelf: and therefore, There needs no other.* 'Tis true. But it is too great, and therefore charity, and not revenge requires a due reſtraint and correction. A Second Argument is taken from the happy ſucceſs in correcting ſuch. Thirdly, Doctrine and Inſtruction without Terrour, and Terrour without Teaching, is ill. 4. Gods Example, who both Frights and Teaches. 5. Chriſts example, who with great force compelled *Saul* to the truth. 6. Who (ſaith he) doth not commend the Laws made by Emperours againſt ſacrificing to Idols, by Pagans? 7. The Practice of Schiſmatiques themſelves proves this. Thus *Auſtin*. And *Cyprian*, more ancient than the *Nicene*-council, or *Conſtantin*, perſecuted ſo far as he was able the *Novatians*, having no ſecular Power on his ſide; and ſo did other *Catholick-Biſhops* after him, namely *Chryſoſtome*, and *Cyril* of *Hieruſalem*: for which ſome *Puritans* of our days with a fellow-feeling, as it were, of their brethrens ſufferings, and a never failing Animoſity againſt Biſhops of all Ages, have not ſpared ſuch ſpeeches as theſe, againſt them. *Chryſoſtome, whom none can ſufficiently praiſe, took away many Churches from the Puritans; but this ſame violence was thought the principal cauſe, for which that moſt divine Perſon, ſuffering ſuch calamities as*

Meditatio de Antipuritaniſmo, p. 70 Appendicis ad Laudenſium. Αὐτοκατάκριτον.

as ſoon oppreſſed him, died in Baniſhment; *Cyril likewiſe oppreſſed the Puritans* [i.e. *Novatians*] *and this man beſides many other evils and adverſities which he endured, as well at home as abroad, is branded with this note of Infamy, that he was the Firſt of all Biſhops, that Lorded it*; i. e. *Introduced ſecular Pride and Tyranny into the Church. Let them beware, again and again, who in theſe days bear deadly enmity with Puritans, leſt they pull upon their heads the ancient puniſhments of the perſecutors of Puritans.* Thus far that Frontleſs, and Witleſs Patron of *Puritans*, of the *Scottiſh* Faction, if I miſtake not. Chap. 4.

And here before we draw down the Practice of the Catholick Church any lower, becauſe antiquity abounds with the like grievous complaints of *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks* being puniſhed, as this age doth alſo; Let us conſider a little what themſelves did, when ever their ſtrength ſerved them.

The *Arrians*, (as we have ſhewed) were perſecuted by the *Catholicks*, and having ſecular Authority on their ſide, did they not ſtir up moſt grievous Perſecutions againſt the Church, upon all occaſions? Are not all Hiſtories full of their Impious and bloody prancks? In ſo much, that *Onuphrius* on the Life of *Sylveſter* the Firſt by *Platina*, ſays, The *Onuphrius in Sylveſt.*

Chap. 4. Nine Perſecutions being taaken away by *Conſtantine the Great*; the Tenth, from the *Arrians*, enſued, more dangerous than all the others: which, beginning under the Emperour *Conſtantius*, continued upon the Church of God in ſuch manner, for Forty years together. So far *Onuphrius*; Whoſe Opinion might eaſily be confirmed by the Authorities of *Hilary* of *Poitiers*, *Hierome*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and others; were not that ſuperfluous Labour, in a matter confeſſed. From whence by the way we note the ſtrange and vain confidence of Popiſh writers: againſt whom it being alledged by us, that the true Catholique Faith may be Inferiour, in number and reputation of Profeſſours, to the unſound and Heretical; as it certainly was in the Reign of this *Conſtantius*, they endeavour to elude this pregnant Inſtance, by making *Conſtantius* Antichriſt (as perhaps ſome of the Ancients ſpeaking at large, and in heat of blood againſt him might ſay) and that according to the Prediction in the *Revelation* of a *Time, two Times, and half a time*, *Conſtantius* perſecution, or the *Arrian* rather continued but for three years and an half; which is directly contrary to their own *Onuphrius* in the place above cited; and utterly falſe.

And

Chap. 4.

And were the *Donatiſts* any whit more favourable, and mild, when they had any, though but ſmall advantage, over the *Catholicks?* He that reads *Optatus* againſt *Parmenianus*, the many Treatiſes of S. *Auſtine* againſt them, the Conference of *Carthage* between the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts* and the *Church-catholick*, ſhall find, that the ſame Faction which was ever moſt querulous under Perſecution, and moving pitty and compaſſion in thoſe that would hear them, of their hard meaſure, and of the unreaſonableneſs of the civil Powers interpoſing in ſuch matters which ought to be free, were themſelves moſt cruel and Violent againſt others; and eſpecially, the Biſhops and Clergy men ſuffered horrible things, which were tedious to rehearſe; they put out the Eyes of ſome; and they cut off the Hand and Tongue of one Biſhop, and ſome they ſlew right-out. *I ſay nothing of the cruel ſlaughters* (ſaith he) *and Plundring of houſes by night-invaſions, and burnings; and that not only of private houſes, but Churches alſo, into which flames there wanted not ſome who caſt in the Books of God.* Do not theſe words of *Auſtine* come ſomewhat near a deſcription of our late furious and wicked zeal? And what *Poſſidonius*, in the Life of S. *Auſtine*, addeth of this nature againſt that Holy Biſhop, calleth to our minds afreſh, the Perſecution of the Tongue againſt

Optatus, l. 4. & l. 6. Cont. Parmen.

Et maximè Epiſcopi & Clerici horrenda & dura perpeſſi, quæ commemorare longum eſt; quando quorundam oculi extincti, &c. Auguſt Epiſt. 5. Vide & Epiſt. 166.

Poſſidonius in vitâ Aug. c. 9. Vide c. 10. etiam.

Chap. 4.

our Biſhops: *The* Donatiſts (ſaith he) *rail'd at* Auguſtine, *called him ſeducer of ſouls, both publickly and privately*, and ſaid, *That he ought to be ſlain as a Wolf to their Flock, and that without doubt all their ſins ſhould be forgiven them, who could bring this to paſs.* And in another Epiſtle of S. *Auguſtine*, is the Inhumanity of thoſe pure *Zelots* the *Circumcellions*, a branch of the *Donatiſts*, againſt ſuch as differed in Opinion from them, deſcribed; concluding, *In quibus omnibus illi non deponunt facta Latronum, & honorem ſibi exigunt Martyrum.* i. e. *In all which, they ceaſe not to act the parts of* Aſſaſins, *and yet require the honour of* Martyrs. And, ſo infinitely Deviliſh and Malicious was their humour, that when they could not deſtroy the *Orthodox* by Butchering them, they would needs terrifie them, by Murthering themſelves; and ſo, as *Auſtine* hath, either Solacing themſelves in the deſtruction of us, or ſadding us by their own Deaths. And ſuch in ſome degree, do our days afford, who, becauſe they cannot have their Will-worſhip, will put themſelves into ſuch an untractable and brutiſh poſture, that if you let them alone, they have their ends; if you attempt to bring them to Juſtice, they will create great hatred to their Adverſaries, by parting with their Lives,

Auguſtine Epiſt. 63. Id. l. 7. c. 83. Cont. Literas Petil. Id. Cont. 2. Epiſt. Gaudentii.

Quidam eorum miſerabili inſtinctu, & Deo & Hominibus ingrate, ſi ſuis cædibus nos vaſtare non poſſunt, ſuo nos exitio terrere credunt: aut lætitiam ſuam quærentes de mortibus noſtris, aut triſtitiam noſtram de mortibus ſuis Aug. Epiſt. 61

Lives, rather than ſtir upon fair or neceſſary means, or motives. To conclude, It is the obſervation of S. *Hierome*, *We have read, we have ſeen, we have daily found it true, that when ever Perſecution hath aroſe in the Church, the* Jews *and* Hereticks *were always more grievous Perſecutors of the Chriſtians than were the* Gentiles. Chap. 4.

Legimus, vidimus, quotidiéque comprobamus; Quando perſecutio contra Eccleſiam oritur, multo pejores perſecutores Judæos & Hæreticos, quàm Ethnicos. Hieronymus *in Obad. v.* 10. *Auguſtinus Cont. Literas Petiliani. l.* 2. *c.* 89.

And therefore with S. *Auguſtine* againſt *Petilian*, I may ſay to our Heretical and Schiſmatical Enemies accuſing us of perſecuting ſuch meek and peaceable ſpirited men as they would now ſeem to be; *Therefore for ſhame ſay not, Far be it from our Conſcience, that we ſhould compel any to our Faith. For ye do it where you are able: And where ye do it not, ye are not able; either through fear of Laws, or Envy, or the number of Reſiſters of you.*

CHAP. V.

A Continuation of the former Subject, and particularly, of putting Hereticks *and* Schiſmaticks *to Death.*

IN man may be ſaid to be a Two-fold Life, Natural and Civil. The Firſt is an Union of the Natural parts of a man; which being diſſevered, death follows; underſtanding here the principal which are either ſimply Eſſential, as the Soul and Body; or ſuch, as are therefore called Vital, becauſe being corrupted, or taken away, a ſeparation of the more Eſſential parts do immediately follow. Mans Civil Life is that, whereby he being a member of the Civil Body; ſeparated from that (as all Integral parts of a Body Natural) loſes that life of common Influence and Protection. Hence it is, that ſome Civil Lawyers do interpret Capital Puniſhment ſo often denounced againſt *Hereticks* in the Civil Law, of the later Death; as doth *Huckleman*, and ſome others.

others. *The Imperial Conſtitutions, which abſolutely inflict Capital Puniſhment on* Hereticks, *are not to be underſtood of Natural, but Civil death, as Tranſportation and ſuch like.* But I make no doubt, but this is too favourable, and forced an Expoſition, as he that ſhall obſerve the Practice, the beſt comment on the Law, muſt confeſs. For when the Code, ſaith, *Manichæi undique expelluntur & capite puniuntur.* And immediately before, *Manichæo, in loco Romano degere deprehenſo, caput amputatur*, i. e. *The* Manichees *are to be expell'd, and puniſh'd Capitally, The* Manichee *that ſhall be found in the* Roman Territory *ſhall have his head cut off*; cannot be meant of a Civil Head. I confeſs the moſt common puniſhments are ſuch, as we read in the ſame Title againſt the *Manichees* and *Donatiſts*, made by *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* Emperors, *viz.* 1. "We decree it a Pub-"lick Offence; becauſe an Offence a-"gainſt Divine Religion is an injury to "all: Wherefore we Perſecute ſuch "with the Confiſcation of all their "Goods. 2. We will likewiſe that "they be Defeated of all Liberality and "Succeſſion coming to them by any Ti-"tle whatever. 3. Furthermore, we "leave ſuch no Power to give, or buy, "or ſell, or make bargains, being con-"vict. 4. Inquiry ought to be made at his

Chap. 5.

Conſtitutiones Imp. Simpliciter capitis pœnam inſligentes Hæreticis non de Naturali ſed de Civili Capite aſſerit. Weſſembeck: in Parn. num. 6. Huckelmanus Illuſtr. Diſp. 34. Theſ. 14. lit. 6. Cod. l. 1. Tit. 5 Cod. l. 1. Tit. 3 Sect. 4. Volumus eſſe publicum crimen, &c.

Chap. 5.

"his Death. For if it be Lawful in "matters of Treaſon, to tax the memo- "ry of the dead; not undeſervedly "ought there here alſo to paſs a judge- "ment. 5. Therefore his laſt Writing is "to be Null, whether by Will, or Codi- "cil, or any other way, he hath made "his Teſtament; if found to be a *Mani-* "*chee*. 6. Neither do we ſuffer his Sons "to Inherit, unleſs they forſake their "Fathers Errours. For we allow Pardon "to the Penitent. 7. We like well, "that they feel the ſting of our Autho- "rity, who ſhall entertain them in their "Houſes, by a culpable providing for "them. 8. And we Will, that their "Servants be faultleſs, if avoiding ſuch "Sacrilegious Maſters, they paſs into "the Catholick Church by a more *Faith-* "*ful Service.*

Thus far the Imperial *Edict* of *Theodoſius*, whereby we may eaſily diſcern how ſevere the Ancients were in chaſtiſing *Hereticks*, and the ſeveral kinds of Puniſhments deviſed againſt them.

Photius Nomocan. Tit. 19. *c.* 25.

But it is not to be denied that Later Emperours, and the Church of *Greece* afterward, were more mild in their Decrees againſt Hereticks; and as it appears from *Balſamon* in his Comment on *Photius* his *Nomocanon* the *Greek* Church approves not at this day the putting to death of Hereticks. For firſt he

he tells us there, how the *Basilica* or Collection and Repurgation of the *Code* and Digests made by *Leo* the Emperour, Son to *Basilius Macedo*, mitigate the Severities of Them against Hereticks, Witches, Apostates, and Magicians: And therefore Σημείωσαι ἀπὸ τῆς καταργωθείσων Διατάξεων ἐν, &c. *Note* (*saith* Balsamon) *that however before the purging of the Digests and* Code *such things were of force in the Commonwealth; under Capital punishment were comprehended Burning, Beheadings, Crucifyings, yet the Emperour who purged the Laws and composed the* Basilica *admitted not these three* —— *but made Captivity, Putting out the eyes, Cutting of the hands, and the like, Capital punishments.* But this being so, why did the *Greek* Church solicite the *Turk* to Cut off the Head of their late Patriarch *Cyril* of *Constantinople*, upon suspicion of favouring too much a Reformation? But this was thought the procurement of the Papists there, to prevent the evil was like to happen to their Church, should the *Greeks* side more with us. But the great question is, Whether it be just to punish *Hereticks* with Death, according to the Judgement of the Ancient Church? The first instance of such severity, is that of *Priscillianus*; who was put to Death for his Heresie: about which I find the Fathers Chap. 4.

Chap. 5.

thers themselves divided. *Hierome* against *Ctesiphon* seems not only to approve of it himself but to say, that the whole Christian Church consented thereto, *Quid loquar* (saith he) *de Priscilliano, qui & Seculi gladio, & totius Orbis authoritate damnatus est?* Why should I speak of *Priscillianus*, who was Condemned by the Secular Sword, and the Authority of the whole World? But *Severus Sulpitius* liked not this Fact, as appears by his words, *Priscillianus cum sociis Capite plectuntur, pessimo exemplo necati. Priscillianus with his complices are beheaded, being killed with a very ill precedent.* And *Theognostus* condemned *Idacius*, or *Ithacius Clarus* an eminent Bishop of *Spain*, as witnesseth *Isidorus Hispalensis*, because he procured the death of *Priscillian*, as did also other Catholick Bishops, as a bloody man: yet, by a Council held at *Triers*, about the year 386, he was absolved by the favour and intercession of the Emperour *Maximus*, by whose Authority it was done. S. *Augustine* is known to have been of an opinion once, that *Hereticks* ought not at all to be compelled to the true Faith; but afterward his judgement altered, and that (as he saith) from the experience he had of the excellent effect such coercion had; and especially, in that divers, who at first took

Hierom. Adversus Ctesiphon.

Severus Sulpit. Sacræ Hist. Lib.

Isidor. Hisp. De Viris Illustr. c. 2.

Vide Baron. Ann. 386. nu. 25.

Aug. Epi. 48.

took upon them the profeſſion upon compulſion, afterward embraced it ſincerely and freely: And in the ſame Epiſtle anſwereth the allegation of *Peitro Paolo* above mention'd, which the *Donatiſts* likewiſe urged againſt the *Catholicks* perſecuting them, *viz.* No example is to be found either in the Evangeliſts, or Apoſtles writings, whereby any thing was begged of Earthly Kings in behalf of the Church, againſt the Churches Enemies. *Quis negat non inveniri* (ſaith he)? *Sed nondum implebatur illa prophetia, Et nunc Reges intelligite, &c.* Pſal. 2. i. e. *Who denies that? for as yet, that Propheſie was not Fulfilled, And now underſtand ye Kings, &c.* Yet do I not find that this Father approved of killing *Hereticks*; but in another Epiſtle proceeds in a milder, and middle way, that is, *Neither to Tolerate the* Hereſie, *nor Condemn the* Heretick *to Death*; becauſe that were to cut off all poſſibility of Repentance, and Reconciliation to God, and the Church; which is very hard to deny any man, before God doth; And that God doth, no man can ſay, ſo long as he granteth him life: As S. *Auſtine* argueth upon *Matthew*, ſaying, *Man is not ſo ſtated in this life, that it can be certainly known what he will be hereafter whoſe errour at preſent is viſible, And therefore ſuch are not to be taken out of this*

Chap. 5.

Auguſtin. Epiſt. 48

Id Epiſt. 50.

Auguſt. Quæſt. in Matth. 12. *Non ita Hominem conſtitutum eſſe in hac, &c.*

Chap. 5.

this life, left while one endeavours to ſlay the wicked, he deſtroys him who haply might have been good. Thus he. But does not this reaſon prove too much? Certainly upon this very ground, *Socinus*, againſt the practice and judgement of all the world, diſputes againſt the putting to death of the greateſt Civil Malefactours. Yet I ſuppoſe his argument may be anſwered thus, and not the other. For as much as ſcarce is it Lawful to put any man to death for any ſuch offenſe, which the Malefactour himſelf ſhall not judge a notorious crime, and ſo may Repent of it. But many Errours, and they great in Religion, cannot ſo plainly be diſcerned by the guilty, and therefore he cannot repent, until it ſhall pleaſe God to turn his heart extraordinarily. And to me, it ſeemeth not very difficult to anſwer *Thomas* his Arguments and *Bellarmines* who are for the death of *Hereticks*.

Fauſtus Socinus in Epiſt.

Thus then argues *Thomas*. If he may be burnt who counterfeits money, Why ſhould not he that Forges, and Publiſhes falſe Doctrine? "If he that counter-"feits the Kings Letters deſerveth death, "What doth he that counterfeits, that "falſifies the Scriptures and the Divine "Letters of the Lord? To which *Ri-*"*badenira* adds, A woman that breaks "the Conjugal Faith made to her Huſ-band,

Thom. 22. qu. 11. Art. 3

"band, ought to die; and not much Chap. 5.
"more he, who keeps not his Faith with
"God? And he that takes away the
"Life of another unlawfully, ſuffers the
"the loſs of his own for it; ſhall not
"he therefore who deſtroys his own,
"and neighbours Soul? To theſe prety Analogies and colourable arguments for the Death of *Hereticks*, we readily anſwer, by granting all that the arguments crave, which is, that *Hereticks* deſerve to ſuffer as much, and more if you pleaſe, than ſuch notorious offenders againſt the Commonwealth, and Civil Juſtice. But muſt therefore this puniſhment be neceſſarily corporal, and outward as the other, whoſe cauſe is Civil? this, by *Thomas* his good leave, follows not. But rather the contrary. That their Puniſhment ſhould be Proportionable to their offenſe; Their offenſe was Spiritual, and their ſufferings muſt be ſuch too: their offenſe was greater, and ſo ſhall their puniſhment be in Soul by eternal Death. And this anſwers *Bellarmines* ſix arguments to prove that *Hereticks* ought to ſuffer ſuch Capital Puniſhment. Firſt, *becauſe, as all confeſs*, Hereticks *may be Excommunicated lawfully, therfore they may be kill'd:* The Conſequence is thus proved; *Becauſe Excommunication is a greater puniſhment than temporal Death.* To which I anſwer, That therefore it ſhould have

Bellarm. De Laicis l. 3. c. 21. 5. Probatur, &c.

Chap. 5. a greater death; but that, that death must be of the same kind, doth not follow, that is, temporal. Secondly, he saith *Experience teacheth that there is no other remedy.* But I deny any such experience: For I make no doubt but the punishments mentioned even now in the Code, will in a short time extirpate *Heretieks*; and perhaps sooner, considering what a pride some *Heretieks* take in suffering, even death, for their errours. Thirdly, His Third is that with *Thomas* his, *viz. Heretieks* are Cheats and Counterfeits. And so is his Fourth taken from a Womans falseness to her Husband. The Fifth is, because All the reasons that *Galen* alledged against Malefactors, hold here. *Answ.* First, That they should be punished, they do: Secondly, that they should be punished with death also, but not necessarily with Natural death; but Civil death may suffice here, and Eternal death hereafter. Sixthly, (Lastly) he saith, It is a kindness to take obstinate *Heretieks* out of this life; for the longer they live, the more Errours they devise; and increase greater damnation to themselves. *Anſ.* We must distinguish between temporary, and perpetual obstinacy: And between that which may be, and is certainly known to Judges for to be. Judges must proceed according to the Evidence of the Fact, not the proba-

probability. But no man can certainly know, that, how ever a perſon be Actually obſtinate, he will perſiſt in the ſame to his Death. Chap. 5.

But, notwithſtanding there be no more than we have heard in Reaſon, or Religion, for their putting to death, and not many examples are to be found in Antiquity; yet for the laſt Five hundred years ſince Chriſt, hath it been but too much put in practice under *Roman-Tyranny*. For that Hot-ſpur *Genebrard*, whoſe deſign it was to give us an account of the Churches Practice, ſpeaking in defence of that cruelty ſhewed againſt the *Kathari* (or *Puritans*) who were burnt at *Colen*, in the year of our Lord 1163. meerly for Religion, and that none of the worſe; (unleſs all be true which *Ecbertus* living about that time writes againſt them, as a branch of the *Manichæan* Hereſie, extant in *Bibliotheca, P. P.*) and endeavouring to juſtifie that Fact from ancient Precedents of the Church, could, it ſhould ſeem, find none much above 60. years older than that; and that was of that *Arch-hæretick Baſilius* a Phyſician, who in the year of Chriſt 1102. was by the Command of the Emperour *Alexius* burnt at *Conſtantinople* for his *Hereſie*. This was the Hereſie of the *Bogomili* as *Balſamon* calleth them, and not *Bongomili* as *Baronius* terms them;

Genebrard. Chronol. Ann. 1163.

Ecbertus Adverſus Catharos Biblioth P. P Antav. 2. p. 832. & 834.

Balſamon, ubi ſupra. Baron. An. 1118. *n.* 27.

Chap. 5. *Basilius* a cunning close dissembler being the Leader. But *Balsamon* approves not the fact, but yet excused *Alexius* as doing it before the Law was reversed, and because they were a sort of Hereticks that sought their own death, out of a pride of becoming Martyrs. The *Nicene* Council thought it sufficient to Banish *Arius* the Archheretick. But *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* added Corporal punishment. Afterward, as *Polydore Vergil* writeth, *Frederick* the first about the year 1180. made a Law that Hereticks should be burnt. About which time *Lucius* the Third, Bishop of *Rome* decreed that such as were of on Orders, and were Hereticks, should first be degraded, then committed to the Civil Powers to be put to death by fire: herein imitating the Law of *Moses*. And after-Ages abound with so many sad Instances of that nature, that it were superfluous and tedious to rehearse them: From all which, I only infer thus much: That they, who generally approved, and practised such extreme rigour, could not but much more commend such more moderate means of reducing, restraining, and extinguishing them. And I presume, if I can shew what much more severe course hath been used towards Hereticks and Schismaticks since our Reformation in *England*, it will not appear so great inhumanity, to put in

Polydorus Vergilius. De Invent. Rerum, l. 8. c. 4.

Deut. 13.

in ſtrict execution ſuch Laws as have of old and later days, been made againſt them. Chap. 5.

In the Raign of *Henry* the Third, ſaith *Hollingſhed*, were two *Impoſtors* hanged, for giving out, that they were Chriſts. In the Reign of *Richard* the Second, and *Henry* the Fourth of *England*, Statutes were made for the putting Hereticks to death, which ſtood in force until the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, who cauſed them to be repealed: but in lieu of them, he made ſuch an *Edict* (conſiſting of Six Articles, called therefore, The Whip with the ſix ſtrings) that thereby, the Life's Blood of many a good and ſober Chriſtian was taken from them. But in the Firſt of Queen *Mary*, the former Statutes, as more for her Bloody purpoſes, were revived and re inforced: of which, as a thing too apparent for Impudence it ſelf to encounter, I ſhall not ſpeak at preſent, and but touch afterward.

But neither have there been wanting inſtances ſince the Reformation, of ſuch Capital Puniſhments executed. For in the Fourth year of *Edward* the Sixth, or Third (as Mr. *Stow* hath it) *Joan Butcher*, otherwiſe called *Joan Knell*, and vulgarly *Joan* of *Kent*, was burn'd for her *Hereſie*, denying Chriſt to have taken Fleſh of the Virgin *Mary*. And on *Stow Chron. Art. 3. Ed. 6.*

Chap. 5. the 24th. of *April*, the ſame year, *George Paris*, a *Dutchman*, was burnt in *Smithfield* for *Arianiſm*: And in the ſame Kings's Raign, an *Anabaptiſt* of *Colcheſter* was burned. And truly, he that is of an Opinion, that no man ought to ſuffer death purely for Religion, may notwithſtanding approve of the putting to death ſuch as ſhall bear falſe witneſs, in ſuch a Caſe at leaſt, as that of profeſſing themſelves to be that Perſon they in truth are not, whereby manifeſt and intolerable evils are done to private Perſons, but much more to the Wealpublike; when one ſhall pretend himſelf to be ſome Prince, or Publike perſon: Much more therefore he that ſhall have the Impudence to give out that he is Chriſt (have he a particular *Cant* of his own to evade the common ſenſe his words import, when he comes into danger) ought no leſs to undergo death, than he that ſhall ſeek to Tranſlate the Government of a People, properly belonging to another Prince, upon himſelf. And as for *Anabaptiſts*, though I think their Dogm's are a little purg'd of late, over what ſome years ſince they have been, (as moſt *Hereticks*, and *Schiſmaticks* are, when they perceive they will not take, nor be endur'd in their original Rankneſs): yet, if they ſtick but to one or two, charged commonly on

on them, ſuch as are, Denying to the Civil Magiſtrates Power of the Sword; and affirming an Exemption of (their) Saints from humane Laws; ſuffering corporal death for the ſame; they have no wrong done them; neither can they plead Religion to protect them in cauſes of Civil cogniſance, as they are. And to hold an opinion (as many now adays do) that their Governors have no Authority Eccleſiaſtical over them, in things neither forbidden nor commanded by God's word, is to draw very much nearer to the pernicious Extremes of the *Anabaptiſt*, than can conſiſt with the good opinion ſuch have of themſelves, and would beget in others of being very moderate Men. But I return. Chap. 5.

In the third of Queen *Elizabeth*, one *Jeffery* taught publickly, That *John Moor* was Chriſt; who were both firſt whipt, and then upon repentance were committed to Priſon for half a year. This was a favour ſhown upon repentance. The more pitiful and ſtrangely tender conſcienc'd Judges were they, in the Houſes called a Parliament of late years, who could diſcharge *James Naylor* an Impoſtor, as foul and blaſphemous as any of his Predeceſſors, without any conſiderable notes of true repentance. So far did the Doctrine of Liberty of Conſcience drive many Patrons of it. *Stow An. 3d of Q. Eliz.*

Chap. 5. Again, in the Seventeenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, twenty-seven *Ana-*
Stow in Eliz. *baptists* were brought to Juſtice, where-of two were burnt in *Smithfield*; four renounced their Hereſies at *Pauls* Croſs, and thereupon were releaſed, the reſt were condemned to die, but were only
Idem. baniſhed. In the twenty one year of the ſame Queen, one *Hammond*, a moſt inſolent *Arian*, denied Chriſt to be God, and blaſphemed Him, and the Goſpel, and was burnt in *Norwich:* And about three years after, one *John Lewis* was burnt in the ſame place for the like Hereſie. And in the Raign of King *James* one *Legate* was burnt in *Smithfield* for *Arianiſm*.

For King *James* his Raign, and Queen *Elizabeth's*, it is generally known how they put not any Papiſt to death for their Religion, though preſently they were Sainted for dying in the *Romane* cauſe, and, as they will have it, for Religion; and if they will have it ſo, ſo let it paſs, for me: But then we muſt take leave to turn to, and adhere to our old Notes, which tell us of their Faith; that it is Faction; and their Religion, Rebellion. For, were it ſo that the Laws interdicting *Popiſh* Prieſts of this Nation, bred and ordained beyond the Seas, from coming into this Nation, were put in execution, this were no ſuch

ſuch ſanguinary practice as many Popiſh Chap. 5.
Miniſters loudly and indeed childiſhly
give out. For I would know whether
the Supreme power of this, as well as any
other Nation, have not power to inflict
the puniſhment of baniſhment upon
lighter cauſes than this? For inſtance,
Might it not be reaſonable for an Act of
Baniſhment to take place upon all ſuch
as ſhould tranſport Wool, or Fullers-
earth into foreign Countries? The per-
ſon that ſhould do this returns into *Eng-
land*, and is put to death, according to
the Law. But he cannot be ſaid to be
put to death for having tranſported pro-
hibited Commodities, but for breaking
the Law of his Baniſhment. No more
can Popiſh Prieſts, taking Orders from
that Church, and returning, be ſaid to
ſuffer for taking Orders, or for their Re-
ligion, but fot breaking the Act of their
Baniſhment; for, by Law they all ſtand
baniſhed; and if a greater puniſhment
than baniſhment be not annext to that
Decree to make it good, inſtead of be-
ing ſanguinary it will become ridiculous
and ludicrous and ſo will the Authors of
ſuch Laws alſo. In the year, One thouſand
ſix hundred forty & one, *Ward*, *Walker*, or
Waller (for, as I take it, the man after
the *Romane* cuſtom had three or four
names) being a Popiſh Prieſt was hanged
at *Tyburn*, where he confeſſed, he had

Chap. 5. been banished no fewer than three or four times. Do not such mockeries, and contempt of Laws as this, deserve death, yea, though the Law it self were unreasonable?

And now, as to the other side, with which we have to do, the *Puritan* Faction; let us see how they have been proceeded against, before these three last Decads of years, and whether it be so new and strange a matter that they should be molested, or oppressed; and the rather because of that Officious Author of the *Interest of England*, who puts on the Countenance of a Moderator, and grave and wise decider of the point of Toleration: but alass, besides his many lamentable failings, he could not keep on his Mask above a leaf or two; and in a certain place speaks thus, much more boldly than knowingly or truly. *Take notice that the Episcopal Clergy did not go about to exterminate the Puritans before their latter times; and then he that had half an eye could discern the notable advance and the confident expectation of the Popish Faction.* And may not he that hath never a bit of an eye perceive, what is so palpable, that since the Puritans had such influence, and favour shown them as of late, the Popish Faction is advanced ten times more than when they were better kept under? And this partly

Corbets Interest of England, p. 129.

ly through the infinite ſcandal given to our Reformation, by them; partly, forſooth, that for their tender Conſciences ſake, ſuch an indulgence and connivence general muſt be allowed, that Papiſts (who have no leſs to ſhow for a Toleratiou than have they) muſt be comprehended in it too. But what doth this Man mean to write ſo at a venture? but that which moves them all, prevail'd with him, *viz.* that the common people would not trouble themſelves ſo far as to ſuſpect what he ſays, while he ſpeaks what they would have him. What think you of thoſe that Doctor *Crackenthorp* ſays againſt the Fugitive Biſhop of *Spalato*, (who for that reaſon, that Puritans were tolerated in *England*, took a prejudice againſt the Church of *England*) were perſecuted for their Conſciences? Was not *Cartwright* caſt into Priſon? Was not *Brightman* degraded, and put from his Prieſthood? Were not *Wigginton*, *Culverwel*, *Salesbury*, *Field*, *Hilderſh*, *Parker*, *Stoughton*, *Smith*, *Jackſon*, and others, turned out of their Livings, and ſuſpended from their Prieſts Office? *Udal* and *Penry* adding to their obſtinacy revilings of the Queen's Majeſty, one of them was put to death, and the other received capital ſentence, and was puniſhed? Were all theſe or any of theſe of ſo late ſtanding as you mean? Do we not

Chap. 5.

Crackenth. Defenſ. Eccl. Anglicanæ Con. Archiepiſc. Spa. c. 33.

Chap. 5.

not hear of moſt lamentable complaints of old, made by the Puritans, of the ſore perſecution they ever ſuſtained, and do they now accuſe later times, holding the former innocent? The Letters between the Lord *Burleigh* and Archbiſhop *Whitgift* are yet extant, whereby it appears that there were very many Miniſters turn'd out of their Benefices in thoſe days, in the County of *Eſſex* and *Kent*, only for ſcrupuling the Rites and Ceremonies of our Church. And more for the ſatisfaction of others, who are apt to think Civil ſeverity too much for the Church to have on their ſide againſt ſuch Men as theſe, than for this Authors ſake; Conſider what Sir *George Paul* writes in the Life of Biſhop *Whitgift*, and we ſhall be eaſily convinc'd that our Church acts no new thing, nor the Civil Magiſtrates ſo much as was wont to be done in behalf of the Church in the earlier days of Reformation. *Thomas Cartwright* and *Edmund Snape*, with others, were called in queſtion, and proceeded withal in the Star-Chamber for ſetting forth and putting in practice, without warrant or Authority, a New Form of Common Prayer, Adminiſtration of Sacraments and Presbyterial Diſcipline in the year 1591. Again, the Queen was offended that *Cartwright* ſhould preach without Subſcription. Again, Good execution of Laws (his own words)

Fuller Eccl. Hiſt. An. 1583.

Sir George Paul his life of Biſhop Whitgift. pag. 40.

Id. pag. 54.

words) againſt Puritans kept things quiet; eſpecially by the aſſiſtance of the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*. And had he who ſo lately bare that name and office dealt more ſincerely and uprightly towards the Church, I ſuppoſe he had had no more to anſwer for, either before God or Man, than now he hath. Again, he proceeds. After him, Sir *John Puckering* was a friend to the Church. And laſtly, Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Keeper was very careful to ſuppreſs the foreſaid *Libels*. And thoſe Libels were none other but the religious ſtuff invented and vented againſt the Church of *England*, and the Aſſertors thereof. Chap. 5. *Id. pag.* 55. *Id. pag.* 58. *Id. ibid.*

Adde hereunto the excellent Counſel given by a moſt experienc'd King to his Son *Charles* the Firſt, who out of his Infinite facility, and matchleſs Charity towards Puritans, declining this Rule, what his perſonal experience coſt him in making proof of their fair promiſes and good nature, we had thought would never have been forgotten: but it is. However let us hear what King *James* obſerved. *If* (ſaith he) *you ſhall uſe Clemency in the beginning, the number of Offenders will become infinite, and you become contemptible: and when you would puniſh, the number of the Guilty will be greater than the Innocent: and it will not be eaſie to diſcern from whence you ſhould begin to puniſh. And ſo you muſt de-* *Baſilicon Doron, p.* 145.

ſtroy

Chap. 5. *ſtroy divers againſt your will, whom by ſeaſonable puniſhment you might have preſerved. You may be more wary by mine example, for I ſeeking to draw the People to the Obedience of Laws by my mildneſs, it fell out on the contrary that all things were filled with tumults, and I received not ſo much as thanks for requital.*

And this may ſuffice to have ſhown what the Ancient Churches judged of Hereticks, and Schiſmaticks, and the allowance of them, and what our Church hath done in reference to them. It is now more than time that we come to ſhew what both the opinion and practiſe of both of them have been towards us; that ſo, if there be remaining any Candor in the breſts of theſe importunate demanders of the ſame, they may bluſh to require it, or, at leaſt, give us leave not to bluſh to deny the ſame. And the God of all Juſtice do that which is right in his eyes between us. And firſt let us hear the Papiſt, as briefly as the cauſe will permit.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Papiſts directly and abſolutely againſt Toleration of many Religions, or any beſides their own.

WE have ſhewn out of *Thomas* and *Bellarmine* already, that Hereticks ought to be put to death, and why; and he, that will be further ſatisfied therein, may eaſily turn to Commentatours on *Thomas*, and find his opinion confirmed and juſtified, without any further trouble here undertaken, to the drawing out this diſcourſe to a length more tedious, than neceſſary to the Reader. Only from hence we may infer, what is a manifeſt conſequent to what hath been ſaid, *viz.* That if ſuch may be cut off ſo by the Secular ſword, they, according to ſuch mens judgement, may and ought to be reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by puniſhments of an inferior rank, and milder nature; unleſs it be ſaid by Papiſts (as in truth it is by ſome) what the Presbyterians ſay for themſelves, as we have ſhewed, That Prelatiſts may and ought to come to the Presbyterians, but the Presbyterians cannot, nor ought to come to the Prelatiſts; That puniſhment ought to be taken of the Evangelical [Profeſſors] that

Johan. Houlettus Præfatione ad Regiam Majeſtatem: apud Humphredum Admonit: de Curiæ Romanæ praxi contendit, de Evangelicis poſſe, de Romanenſibus non poſſe ſumi ſupplicium.

Chap. 6. that is, the *Reformed*, but the *Romanists* ought not *to be punished*. So Demonstrative are the reasons, and so ingennous are the writings of both Papist and Puritan. But we must not altogether be guided by such Oracles as speak so broadly and vainly. If there be any such thing remaining or to be respected in the World, sure this is reason, that Mens testimonies should conclude against themselves, when there is nothing but disadvantage to them which make their cases different. For, neither the one nor the other can modestly deny the Principles and Doctrine of the Church of *England* to be less inconsistent with the Civil Government, and not so rank in persecution of opinions differing from it, as are they; and yet forsooth they, where they cannot persecute, must not be persecuted or touched; where they can, must not be questioned. Now that the *Romanists* will not endure any competition in Religion, appears by what is said above; and by these several instances.

Hic Hereticos & Schismaticos nolentes ad saniorem Doctrinam reduci rationibus, seculari manu coerceri posse definivit. Funcius Comment. Chronol. l. 8.

In the year of our Lord Five hundred fifty five, as *Funcius* tells us, *Pelagius* was made Bishop of *Rome* in the room of *Vigilius*, by the Emperour *Justinian*. *This Man* (saith he) *defined that Hereticks and Schismaticks, who refused to be brought home to sound Doctrine, were to be restrained by the Secular Power.* And that this hath

hath been the current judgement of that Church, their Modern writers declare. Do they not make this Defence of theirs, and Offence of their Enemies Religion, one of their Firſt Principles and Documents which they ſeaſon Princes with? Let the Work of *Ribadeneira* the *Jeſuite* ſpeak for all. In the year 1597 he wrote a Treatiſe in *Spaniſh*. Printed at *Antwerp*, *Of the Virtues of a Chriſtian Prince*, The Subjects of ſome of the Chapters of which Book are theſe. *That it is impoſſible, that Hereticks and Catholicks ſhould make a good League, in one and the ſame Commonwealth.* Chap. 24. *Examples of Certain Emperours, who ſuffer'd not many Religions.* Ch. 23. *The ſame is proved by the Authority, and Examples of Saints.* Chap. 26. *That Hereticks ought to be puniſhed: and how prejudicial Liberty of Conſcience muſt be*, Chap. 27. *That Hereſies are the Cauſes of Revolutions and Ruines of States.* Chap. 28. From ſuch Titles as theſe, it is eaſie to divine, what is contained in that Work: I have thought good to leave all to the ingenuity of the Reader to judge, rather than to exceed in unneceſſaries. This Authour, (as ſaith the Catalogue of the Writers of the Jeſuites Society) is tranſlated, by one *Everard* a Jeſuite of *Suffolk*, into *Engliſh*, which yet I have not ſeen. To this Author, let us add one of the

Chap. 6.

Ribadeneira de las virtudes del Principe Chriſtiano, l. 1. c. 24. c. 23, 26, 27, 28.

Chap. 6. the ſame Fraternity, *Becanus*, in a tractate againſt *Paræus*: where he lays down this as a Second Principle, *Liberty of Religion and Faith is unlawful, and contrary to Chriſtian Doctrine, and hurtful and pernicious to the Commonwealth.* His Reaſons are theſe. Firſt, *Becauſe, as Divines teach very right*, Hereſie *is a greater ſin than* Adultery, Murther, *or* Theft. Secondly, *The Doctrine of Chriſt is true: But true and falſe are contrary.* Thirdly, *Liberty is hurtful*: Firſt, *In reſpect of the Salvation of Souls*; Secondly, *In reſpect of outward Peace and Tranquillity*: For this *cannot be preſerved without Unity of Faith.*——— A third Principle of his is this, *A Catholick Prince can neither preſcribe, approve, or introduce Liberty of Religion, but muſt hinder the ſame, as much as poſſibly he can. But yet, if he cannot hinder it without greater damage to the Publike good, he may permit it, as the leſs Evil*: Hitherto *Becanus*. Now it is apparent to any impartial obſerver of the courſe of things, and the tempers and manners of men, that the cauſe of our diviſions is the looſe rains caſt on the neck of the Reſtie people: and the principal grounds of our diſtractions, and the dangers feared therefrom, proceed from Liberty granted, not denied: whereby men, beyond their hopes and purpoſes once, have been tempted and emboldened to think

Becanus De Fide Hæreticis ſervanda, contra Paræum.

think better of themſelves, and more contemptibly of others in Authority, and to commend and urge what they themſelves look'd upon as forlorn and deſperate, the other day. 'Tis certainly hope, not fear which makes them mutinouſly inclined. And that very Villain *Parſons*, in a Treatiſe of *Mitigation*, writeth thus, *We agree with the Proteſtants in this, that there can be no agreement between us and them in Religion.* Yea, ſo far did this mans Zeal hurry him for Religion, who himſelf was by his own ſide ſuſpected to be an *Atheiſt* in heart, that preſuming at length by his many State-ſtratagems, and Treaſonable Practiſes, to ſubvert both Church and State, as they were then eſtabliſhed, one of his requeſts to the *Pope* was, that *England* being reduced to his Model, none other *Popiſh* Orders might be Tolerated in *England* ſave the *Jeſuites*, *Carthuſians* and *Franciſcans*, which were not like to diſagree ſo much as *Secular Prieſts* with other Orders and the *Jeſuites*; while theſe kept to their particular Rules of having all they can lay their hands on, and they of having nothing. And even ſince the Reſtauration of his Preſent Majeſty, the Emulation and Animoſities have been ſo great, that after ſeveral Pamphlets. For, and Againſt *Secular Prieſts* and *Jeſuites*, the *Secular Prieſts*

Parſons Mitigation, c. 2. num. 5.

Sheldens third General Motive, pag. 5.

Chap. 6. with the assistance of some of other Orders undertook with some Great Persons that, upon condition they might have a Toleration (which is the most that any Faction did at first Petition for) they would take care, that the *Jesuites* should never be admitted in *England*: of which, Mr. *Cressie*, that busie *Apostate*, can give you a farther account. But when a man considers how that subtil, industrious, and powerful Faction hath baffled all the severest *Edicts* against them in such Countries where *Popery* flourishes, he will scarce believe that such a device could take effect, or, if it did, could continue long. Could any Decree be more solemn, or sharp against them, than that made by *Henry* the Fourth of *France*? whereby the *Jesuites* were all to depart *Paris* within Three days, and within Fifteen, to forsake the whole Kingdom; and a Pillar to be erected in Publike, for Posterity to read their wickedness and doom; for the Assasination of that Great Prince in his own Chamber, by a young bird *John Chastel* of about eighteen years of age, of the *Jesuites* bringing up: And yet such was their Dexterity, Dissimulation, and Intrests with *Pope* and all *Princes* of their Religion, that about Ten years after, the very same King should be imposed upon so far, as to demolish the Monument

See the Treatise of the Seculars Intitled Check, or Enquiry into the late, &c. and The Jesuites reasons unreasonable. An. 1594.

ment of their Wickednes; repeal his Banne, reſtore them again: And in the very ſame year (as moſt then, and there living judged) being Murthered right-out by *Ravilliac* inſtigated by thoſe holy men; they not only eſcaped cenſure, but carried the matter with ſuch artifice, that the Kings heart muſt be given to them, as his beſt Friends; and conveighed to a Convent of theirs at *La Flech*: Notwithſtanding, thus much *Ravilliac* confeſſed (who would confeſs but little) that by reading *Mariana* the *Jeſuite's* Book he was impelled to commit that Fact: Whereupon *Cotton* the *Jeſuites* Chief Father, wrote a Book to the Queen, endeavouring to ſhew that they held no ſuch opinions: But another Author wrote a Book, which he entituled *Anti-Cotton*, wherein he manifeſtly proved the contrary. And if it be ſaid in their Defence, that *Anti-Cotton*, was alſo anſwer'd; it will make but very little for their Cauſe, if we conſider that this was done by that Impudent face of *Joannes Eudæmon*: whoſe Jeſuitical Tongue ſpared no monſtrous lies that could colour their Cauſe; and the ſame man in the ſame Volumn writes an Apology; For *Straw-Saint Garnet*, a deſperate Convicted Traitour in the Powder-Conſpiracy. *Cotton* himſelf likewiſe wrote againſt it, but not anſwered it. Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. And did not the State of *Venice* in *Paul* the Fifths time, upon discovery of their treacherous, and mischievous Prancks, expel them their Dominions, adding a Law after them, which made it Deprivation, and loss of Nobility to him that should ever speak in favour of them: as *Pietro Paolo* writeth; yet have they so brought it about, by the *Pope* their singular Friend; and by the *Turk* their happy Enemy; and lastly, by their infinite Treasure, That admittance and well-come is granted them into their Countries.

See Pietro Paolo his Declaration of the Variance, & p. 32 33, & 36.

But to return: Judge we yet farther of their Opinions, concerning Toleration of others, from that prophane Fop, Author of *Fiat Lux*, who, in a good humour, professes great kindness to both *Prelatical* and *Puritan Party*; but that forced fained Part being soon laid down, and he returning to himself, compares them both to the Bond-maid, and her Son *Ismael*, and then nothing less will satisfie him, than, *ejice Ancillam cum Puero suo.* Out with them both; Surely that the *Papists* may enter, and have not only free, but alone Possession! For he adds; *This is the only remedy and means of Peace.*

Pag. 260.

But *Bellarmine*, where we above quoted him, gives us not onely his opinion, but reasons, why *Hereticks* may not be suffered,

ſuffered, which are worth the reciting on this occaſion. This then is the ſubject of one Chapter, *Non poſſe conciliari Catholicos cum Hæreticis*, i. e. *There can be no Reconciliation between Catholicks, and Heretick*s: And whom he means by both, no doubt is to be made. Firſt then he begins with *Caſſander*, and quarrels with, and confutes him; whoſe opinion, and deſign he tells us it was, That Princes ought to find out an Expedient to reconcile *Catholicks*, *Lutherans*, and *Calviniſts*: and that until this could be effected, every one ſhould be permitted his Faith; provided he received the Scriptures and Apoſtles Creed. But herein the Cardinal was miſtaken: For in that Treatiſe, *De Officio Pii Viri*, &c. quoted by him, *Caſſander* has neither any ſuch words, nor deſign: but this muſt be rather found in his *Conſultations*; and even there, he doth not propound any thing for the Toleration of divers Religions, but the reduction of Religion to Primitive Rule of Holy Scriptures, Interpreted by pureſt Antiquity, which was the moſt equal, and viſible outward means of Reconciling Differences. But his Reaſons, why neither *Lutherans*, nor *Calviniſts* ought to be Tolerated, becauſe they are ſuch for the moſt part, that War againſt himſelf, and Pretenders to Moderation at

Chap. 6.

Bellar. l. 3. Tom. 2. c. 19.

Chap. 6. preſent; we will here ſet down. Firſt, *becauſe we agree not in the Creed it ſelf.* Secondly, Lutherans *and* Calviniſts *are no true Members of the Church.* Thirdly, Lutherans *and* Calviniſts *differ more than in Rites; in ſuch things as are of greateſt moment, and yet not contained in the Creed it ſelf.* 4. *The Holy Fathers, and the Apoſtles require that we ſhould obſerve not only the principal, but leſs Matters.* 5. *If it be free to believe as men pleaſe in one point, by the ſame reaſon they may be ſuffered to believe ſo in others alſo.* 6. *This is a new opinion of* Caſſander, *and therefore to be ſuſpected.* 7. *This opinion renders the Church altogether obſcure and inviſible.*

And in his 21*th.* Chapter propounding this ſubject, *Poſſe Hæreticos ab Eccleſiâ damnatos temporalibus pœnis, etiam morte, multari*: He firſt tells us how *John Huſs* at the Council of *Conſtance* affirmed that it was not lawful to deliver incorrigible Hereticks to the Secular Power, and ſuffer them to be burnt; and how *Luther* affirmed the ſame, and that it is no new errour; for as much as the Donatiſts held the ſame: after all this he adds, *Contrarium docent omnes Catholici, & aliqui etiam Hæretici*: i. e. *All Catholicks teach the contrary, and ſome Hereticks; of which ſort is* Calvin, *who cauſed* Servetus *to be burnt at* Geneva: *and ſo* Aretius *cauſed* Valentinus Gentilis

to

to be put to death at Berne. You may ſee his *Theſis* proved afterward by ſeveral places of the Old and New Teſtament, which I liſt not here to relate; they are obvious of themſelves. *Stapleton* in his Sermons confirms this ſaying, *Qui libros Hæreticorum legere, &c.* "They who "think it no ſin to read Hereticks Books, "or ſuppoſe they may be ſuffered ſafely, "conſider not what that imports which "our Saviour ſays, *Beware of falſe Pro-* "*phets, &c.* And to imprint this the better in our minds, he tells us with great gravity and ſeriouſneſs, a Tale thus "The "Abbot *Cyriacus Presbyter* of *Laura* "*Calamon*, near the River *Jordan*, ſaw in "his ſleep the Bleſſed Virgin paſs by his "Cell; and being very importunate with "her that ſhe would vouchſafe to come "in [and ſurely to take an hard bed] "ſhe replied. How can I enter into thy "Cell, while thou keepeſt by thee mine "enemy? and ſo, having ſaid thus, went "her way. But he waking, marvelled "what this ſhould mean; but at length "having ranſacked all his Cell, he "found two Books of *Neſtorius* ſtitched "to a Volume of *Iſychius*. Anſwerable hereunto is the applauſe given by *Surius* to the Emperours Decree made in the year 1540. for the burning of Hereticks Books; and his own opinion largely deliver'd in juſtification of ſuch

Chap. 6.

Stapl. Promp. Moral. Domin. 7. poſt Pento.

Pratum Spiritu. c. 46.

Surius Commentar. rerum geſtarum in Orbe. An. 1540. p. 400.

Chap. 6. punishment towards Hereticks. And though *Guilielmus Parisiensis* were a Man of that moderation and gravity in other points, herein he seems to be most severe; saying, *Quicquid contra veram credulitatem est, error est. Consequens igitur est, omnem credulitatem quæ communi fidei contradicit, errorem esse impietatis; & ideo gladio & igne exterminandam*, i. e. *What ever is against true Faith, is an error. From whence it follows, That all belief which is against the common Faith, is an impious errour, and to be driven out by fire, and sword.* So that true is that of *Episcopius* to *Wadding* the Jesuite, whom he advises to consider it; The *Romane* Church holds this for an undoubted Axiome according to his confession, and particularly *Rosweden* in his late Treatise of the evil Faith of *Capellus*, that Hereticks are to be put to death, their Books to be burnt, and their Faith to be kept under by eternal silence.

Guilielmus Parisiensis, De Fide, c. 2. & c. 3. Ib.

Consideres deinde Ecclesiam Romanam, &c. Episcop. Respons. ad Wadding. Ep. De Regulâ.

But this short taste, of a plentiful table of such stuff as this, may suffice, as to the *Romanists* opinion, which their practises have superabundantly confirmed; of which to speak a little, as it will not be impertinent, so to speak much, altogether superfluous; the whole being put too apparent.

And here we may begin with the *Romish* Inquisition constituted of so much in-

injuſtice and cruelty as ſcarce can be matched any where. It began, (ſaith *Pietro Paolo*) after the year One thouſand two hundred; the principal Inquiſitors being the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, who ſprang up about that time. And about the year of Grace, One thouſand two hundred forty four, *Frederick* the Second, Emperour, publiſhed four Edicts at *Padoa*, in favour of the Inquiſitors; whereby obſtinate Hereticks were to be caſt into the Fire; and, ſuch as repented, were yet to be kept in Priſon perpetually. And this Inquiſition in tract of time hath acquired ſo much ſtrength and fury, that Princes themſelves have been ſubject to it, and oppreſſed by it, as lamentably appears in the ſad inſtance of *Charles* Prince and Heir of *Spain*, who upon ſuſpicion only, that he favoured Hereticks, falling into the Paws of theſe mercileſs Lions, was put to death againſt his Father *Philip's* will, and endeavour to the contrary; as *Joachimus Urſinus* witneſſeth. Yet I know there goes a tradition that his own Father cauſed his death, upon ſuch a ſuſpicion: which, if ſo, the matter is but little mended as to the extreme rigor uſed by the Inquiſitors, and the *Romane* Zealots againſt Hereticks. Which the Duke of *Alva* (that Butcher of Chriſtians) further demonſtrated in his General-

Chap. 6.

Pietro Paolo Hiſtor. Inquiſit. p. 6.

Joac. Urſin. Præfat. ad l. Reginal. Urſin. de Inquiſitione.

Chap. 6. Generalſhip over the *Netherlands*, ſo that he gloried at his Table, that, for the extirpating of Hereſie, in the ſpace of ſix years only, he had cauſed to be grievouſly tormented and put to death about Eighteen thouſand, beſides ſuch as he had deſtroyed in the War out of hatred, by private murders alſo, as *Metaranus* writeth. And long before this, In the days of *Innocent* the third, were burnt of the *Albigenſes* a Hundred and eighty at one time, as *Bellarmine* teſtifieth, and juſtifieth too: But *Baronius* out-vies him: for he ſaith, that in one day, in the year One thouſand one hundred eighty three, in the City of *Burdeaux* alone, Seven thouſand of them were ſlain. But anothers report much more ſurpaſſes his, affirming that in the year One thouſand two hundred and nine, in the ſame City were ſlain Sixty thouſand *Albigenſes*. In the ſame year, in the Village *Minerva* an hundred and eighty were burnt alive. In the year One thouſand two hundred and eleven, Four hundred were burnt at *Pulchra Vallis*. Again, in the ſame year in *Lavarum*, Eighty were put upon Gibbets. In the ſame year Eighty of the Nobles were beheaded; neither did they ſpare the Women. Again, in the year One thouſand two hundred and thirteen at *Mirellum* many were cut off by the Sword,

Meteranus Hiſt. Belgic. l. 4. p. 127.
Bellarm. l. 3. c. 12. De Laicis.
Baronius. An. 1199. numb. 33.
Guilielmus Armon. De rebus à Phil. geſt. apud Bzovium.

Sword, more consumed in the River, twenty (*Prateolus* saith, Seventy) thousand were slain. In the year One thousand two hundred and nineteen, at *Miromanda* were slain 5000. In the year 1236. about fifty were burnt or buried alive. And in the year One thousand two hundred forty two, in a small Village in the Diocess of *Tholouse*, about Two hundred were burned. By all which we see clearly what Execution the Inquisition did, newly then erected. *Sleiden* tells us further of one who was burnt, because he could not approve of all the *Romane* Rites: And *Melancthon* of another, who was burnt in a place not far from *Basile*, because he did eat Flesh. All which agrees perfectly with the definition of Pope *Urban*, who saith, "We do "not judge them to be Murderers, "who, out of zeal to Catholick "Church, shall kill some Excommunicate persons.

Chap. 6.

See Bzovius, Matt. Paris, quoted by Doctor Cracknthorp. Defen. Eccle. Angl. Cont. Spalat. c. 18. Sleid. Com. lib. 6. Meminimus loco vicino Basileæ crematum esse quendam propter esum carnium. Melancthon Epistola ad Marchiacas Ecclesias. Caus. 23. q. 5 c. Excommu. Summar. of Relig. p 31.

And in *France* Twenty thousand men were slain in, and about *Paris*, upon the Licence given by the Duke of *Guise*, to root out the *Evangelicks*, as *Sleiden* reports to us. To this, if we adde the inhumane as well as unchristian Fact of *Charles* the ninth of *France*, by whose Connivence and Concurrence, if not command, so many thousands of *Hugonots* were Massacr'd for no other real Rea-

Chap. 6. Reasons, but because they were of *The Religion*; however blushing at the Immanity of the Fact, a pitiful groundless tale was told concerning Plots should have been laid by them; we need proceed no further: For such an intolerable and treacherous piece of Barbarity it was, that our Adversaries, and their Friends that committed the same, have nothing more, or better to answer for it; but that we are too prone to remember it: and they too prone to commit such Butcheries and Inhumanities against them that differ from them in Religion, and are too unwilling to hear of them.

Not long after the First Light of Reformation in *Spain*, were estimated about 20000 of that Profession, and were it not, (saith a diligent Observer of Men and Countries) for the Inquisition, all the Country would soon be overspread with them of the Reformed Religion. In *Sevil* alone were thought to be 12000, who all by the violence and vigilance of the Inquisition have been suppressed and brought to nothing. Let not *Papists* therefore wonder and brag both of their plentiful Harvest they have of late days reaped of Proselytes, by putting their Sickle into our Corn, for, were it so that such remission of Laws, such an indifferency were cherished

Sir Edwin. Sandes. p. 167.

cheriſhed and countenanced in Perſons, Chap. 6.
ſuch a permiſſion and favour to Seducers were granted, as is apparent hath been given to our Adverſaries, it would appear in a ſhort time in *Spain* and *Italy*, what a great difference there would be in the ſucceſs, to the advantage of our Religion.

And can any doubt be made, what favour or Tolerarion we are to expect from *Papiſts* here in this Nation; were we in the power of their hands, as they either are, or might be in ours, how they would diſpoſe of us; when it is ſo unanſwerably evident how intolerably they have Perſecuted our Religion already in *England?* ſo that, as one obſerves, in two of the ſix years Raign of *Queen Mary* only, *Epiſt. Ante Ridleium De Cœnâ Domini* divers Teſtimonies and Letters teſtifie no fewer than 800 perſons were put to moſt cruel deaths in *England*, for their Religion only. How did Queen *Mary* (doubtleſs by the inſtigation of Papiſts) violate the Sacred Bonds of Faithful Promiſes made to the *Suffolk-men*, who aſſiſted her effectually to the obtaining the Crown, having been aſſured firſt by her, that ſhe would make no alteration in the Religion eſtabliſhed by King *Edward.* But upon her quiet poſſeſſion Petitioning her to make good her Promiſe, they were repulſed and reproved by ſuch as told them, *They were but Members, and Members* *Fox Vol. 3. p. 15, 17, 18. p. 159.*

Chap. 6. *Members muſt not Rule their Head, but obey*; and divers of them Impriſoned. Moreover ſhe publiſhed an Edict prohibiting all books written in behalf of the Reformation. And in *London* every Houſholder was Commanded to appear before the Alderman of the Ward, and that they ſhould prepare themſelves for Shrift, and receive the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, and that neither they nor their Servants ſhould depart the City until *Eaſter* was paſt. And calling a Parliament to advance Popery, ſo many as were ſuſpected to favour Reformation were turned out of both Houſes. Theſe dealings were the beginnings of ſorrows, and injuſtice. And our *Acts and Monuments* of their Bloody minds and hands are ſuch laſting evidences againſt them, that they have no better way to ſave their reputation, but by ſcoffs, and merry Flours, which with ſuch as are ambitious to be counted Wits, rather than Religious, are of greateſt Force. And that Lack-manners and honeſty *Parſons* ſhall he heard upon his ſcurrilous humor, rather than he, whoſe Shoos he was unworthy to carry; as to Learning, Fidelity, or Piety. 'Tis not denied what is moſt colourably objected, that Mr. *Fox*, might ſet ſuch down for Martyr'd Perſons who ſuffered not. But conſidering that he, following the Decrees and Sentence of Death publickly

Vide Acts Monum. Vol. 3. p. 118.

lickly extant against such persons, together with the time and place determined for that end, might authentickly deliver that for done (though peradventure such things might interpose, between the Lips and the Cup, which might alter Sentence given) which particularly, and precisely to finde out through all *England*, was very hard. Chap. 6.

And to write a History, or rather a Tragedy of what was Acted by Rebellions, Treasons, and Conspiracies in King *Edward* the Sixths, Queen *Elizabeths*, and King *James* his days only, for their Religion, were to speak truths most pertinent to our subject, but shameful to such as are of that Communion, and plead for Liberty. How do we wish for no other testimony than that of their own Consciences; how incompatible with Civil Unity and Peace this Design is? how certainly it would turn, and is by them intended for our Ruine and Destruction, as well as their own safety? and we needed not such, and so many sad and invincible Instances of their Irreconcilableness to, and Inconsistency with us, in any co-ordination or equality of Priviledges. How do we wish that men would be so fair, as to stand to their own Hands of outward Practices? And then needed there no curious Inquiries

Chap. 6. Inquiries into mens judgements, or reſolutions: But when mens Cauſe and Hearts ſo far fail them, that they dare ſtand to the Tryal of neither of theſe, but will have judgement paſs on them by the future, which is inviſible, and impoſſible to be known but by what is paſt; and when neither Pens nor their Swords ſhall conclude, but a ſorry word or two, in their ſtraits, ſhall be taken for ſufficient proof of Natures and Wills; then doth there remain nothing for us to betake our ſelves to, but our Prayers; and them, not ſo much that God would keep us in our Religion, but Wits.

Divers are their Papers and Pamphlets, whereby they would amuſe ſuch as underſtand or regard nothing, with the reaſonableneſs of their Religion, and the merits of their Perſons; but both the one and the other have been, with all ocular Demonſtrations, convicted of the contrary by ſober and plain replies made unto them. They *Maſcarate* themſelves moſt frequently under the plauſible and taking Appellations of Old Cavaliers, and having ſo diſparaged the King and Churches party, they exſpatiate with ſtrange levity and vain glory in the common place of Self-admiration, and higheſt commendations, *viz.*

What

What Men of parts, and power, and ingenuity, and fortitude of mind, in bearing Perſecutions, which have been hitherto nothing but Acts of Grace and Favour. But they tell us not how they laugh in their ſleeves at all Proclamations and Laws for their reſtraint, and baniſhment of their Seminaries, and Incendiaries; as being ſecure in the midſt of ſuch inſignificant thunders, and preſumptuous in the midſt of their pretended fears. And from truth and ſobriety of language are they degenerated in their writings into ſuch frivolous, fallacious, and meer childiſh humours of moving compaſſion, where reaſon cannot be ſhaken, that a Man of any inſight in the courſe and cauſes of things cannot but deſpiſe their empty and groundleſs Apologies. I ſhall touch but two of their more common pleas, and places for themſelves, and ſo leave them. The one is, That *Papiſts* are tolerated in divers Parts of *Germany*, in *Holland*, *Switzerland*, in *France*, and I know not where elſe: as if that were all true which they affirm in this particular; or, as if ſo much as is true were any whit to our preſent caſe: For, neither in the Free Cities in *Germany*, or certain Countries (as they would ſuggeſt and perſwade againſt the certain knowledge of the wiſeſt) are either Papiſts tolerated

Chap. 6.

Letter of an Old Cavalier in Yorkſhire to one in London.

Chap. 6. in Protestant Countries, or Protestants in Popish. But in the first troubles and dissentions (even to civil discords and armings on both sides) an accord was at length made, and composition, That such Churches and Places should belong to Papists, and such to Protestants; so that they never had one over another perfect Dominion, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, from the ruptures made amongst them; whence it is evident, that the one beareth indeed with the other, but neither gives Toleration to other. And this is the Case chiefly of *France*: where, though the true Soveraign of both be of the *Romish* Church, yet cannot it be said that he freely gives them Toleration, since that was concluded upon when it was not in the King's power to deny, and was ratified in the Agreement, which they of the Religion (as they are called) made with their Prince (whether orderly or irregularly is not now under question) upon the mutual pacification; so that the Laws of that Nation and the constitution thereof do as truly require the inviolable observation thereof on one side as on the other, and secure the Protestants. But our Laws are directly contrary thereunto, and the reason hereof is well known to be, the unreasonableness and indomitable malice and mischief of Papists extorting these severe Edicts.

But

But what if after all this the Proteſtants in *France* are not allowed ſuch a Liberty as is here pretended, and was ſolemnly promiſed them upon Pacification made? Can theſe men, though all Face, be ſo bold as to offer ſuch an Argument which is not true, and if it were true, were not to the purpoſe, nor anſwered our Caſe? But that the Proteſtants are daily and cruelly and unjuſtly perſecuted by their Enemies the Papiſts, to the extreme hazard of utter Extirpation, is too apparent from a Treatiſe to that purpoſe, and on that Subject, lately publiſhed in *Engliſh*. Chap. 6.

Brief relation of the perſecutions and ſufferings of the Reformed Churches in France. Ann. 1668.

And in *Holland*, what Toleration have they? Any Legal, or Publick Act of Grace in that behalf, which is pleaded for here? Nothing leſs: but they and their Religion are at the diſpoſal of Military Officers to repreſs, or permit, according as gain ſhall ariſe to them from a Connivance. And let any indifferent Perſon judge, whether the Caſes be alike: and eſpecially in this, That ſuch as are *Papiſts* in the *United Provinces* have expended their lives and treaſures to bring the *State* to that condition it now enjoys; and ſurely may with good reaſon expect ſome benefit of quiet and eaſe under the ſame: On the other ſide, our *Papiſts* have perpetually machinated, and to their Power executed Plots and practiſes per-

Chap. 6. nicious to our preſent Goverment both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, and thereby forfeited all Protection of Laws, and common ſufferance.

And whereas they never ceaſe, as with the ſwell'd cheeks of Fame to ſound out their own praiſes for their late adherence to *Charles* the Firſt, in his Wars againſt the Rebels (which is their Second main Topick for Indulgences;) How do theſe their Merits melt away, not ſo much before the Sun, as Candle; ſhewing theſe great Flaws in their pretenſes, and Inſolidities? Firſt, put Caſe that they had done ſuch ſingular and ſignal ſervice (though I think that the Kings Cauſe was never, in the groſs, advanced by the moſt valiant common Drunkard, or noted *Papiſt*, through the Scandal given to them of ſober Manners, or Religion.) Did they riſe in their Allegiance above the duty of Subjects? Again, Were they all on that ſide? Were they all of that mind? Did none of the *Popiſh* Faction act to the prejudice of the King? How apparent is it, what a mixture of *Papiſts* heads there was, in the laying the Deſign of the Rebellion, as well in *England*, as *Ireland* and *Scotland*? and how Prieſts of all ſorts mingled themſelves, diſguiſed in the Parliaments Army, to widen and inflame Differences? There are Treatiſes extant ſhewing this, which though peradventure,

See The Jeſuits Reaſons unreaſonable.

venture, may have over-acted their part, yet ſo much of reality do they contain, which notably may allay the braggs of unſpotted fidelity to their King and Country. Biſhop *Williams*, in a Treatiſe he wrote in the heat, and height of Rebellion, tells us upon his own knowlegde, that of Fifty, or Sixty Souldiers that billetted in *Adthorp*, there was no leſs than three or four *Papiſts* of the Parliaments Army. Add hereunto the idle, as well as treacherous Piece of Mr. *White*, *Of Government*, whereby he aſſerted the Right of Rule, belonging only to the Line of our Kings, to him that villanouſly Uſurped it, or any one elſe that could get it; and their faithfulneſs ſhrinks into a leſs compaſs. And firſt having laid that Jeſuitical (though himſelf be the *Cape* of the Secular Faction of Popiſh Prieſts in *England*) and Puritane Principle, that the People are the proper Spring of all Civil Power; and to this falſe and rotten'd Ground having added (never proving nor being able to prove in the leaſt) that the Right of Rule of Princes is founded upon pact and promiſe made between them and the People, he after from hence thus concludes, *So that if Nature reacheth only to preſuppoſed and thought on circumſtances: and who when he ſweareth to a Magiſtrate expecteth to ſee him diſpoſſeſſed*

Chap. 6.

Williams Biſhop of Oſſory Diſcovery Myſteries, pag. 52.

White's Grounds of Obedience. pag. 132.

Chap. 6. *and turned off? So that this is manifeſt A Magiſtrate, actually diſpoſſeſſed, hath no Right to be reſtored. For,* &c. Which Dogm's whether more falſe and impoſſible, to be made good, or more ſeditious and turbulent, 'tis hard to ſay. So that as they neither become one of ſuch reputation for Learning and Judgement amongſt his party, much leſs do they agree with the high boaſts of Fidelity and Loyalty made by the Secular and Anti-Jeſuitical Faction in reference to our Governours, above the Jeſuited. Can any thing be more pernicious to Government, than to take off the Rule and Right of Obedience from Conſcience, and ſet it on vulgar and private Prudence? Beſides, be it true, that they were ſo generally Couragious, and Faithful to their King, as is talk'd of; Could no ſufficient agnition, or remuneration be thought of, but ſuch as turned to the extreme damage of ſuch, as were no leſs Faithful and Loyal than were they? Or, did they not only purchaſe glory and benefit to themſelves, but miſery and undoing to others, by their Merits? They were not (it may be as truly, as boldly ſaid) above the Tenth part of the Kings Forces. Whence comes it then, that they make more noiſe than all others? From their generous minds which they boaſt of? Aud muſt the Generality of the Nation

Nation be certainly undone that they may receive their juſt reward? But that the whole Nation muſt in ſhort time loſe its Religion, and Sacrifice it to theirs, is moſt apparent, out of what hath been ſhewed of their Tenets, and Facts, who never reſt till they are chief; and being Chief, never ſuffer men of another Perſwaſion to live, ſo much as baſely under them. But then, muſt they not be requited and gratified for their Acts? Surely, their reward hath followed them, in that their Perſons and Eſtates have been Reſcued out of the hands of their, and our Enemies, by the favourable Influence of the Kings Government; and more they cannot modeſtly contend for. Or, if we ſhould grant a Proportion greater to them, than any of the Kings Subjects elſe, might it not ſuffice that they have perſonal Priviledges of Preferment, Dignities, or Liberty to themſelves; but muſt their Acts ſo far preponderate all of another Religion in the ſame ſervice with them, that they ought to tranſmit to Poſterity ſuch rewards; and theſe immunities from Laws muſt they for their ſakes be granted to all as are nothing a kin to them but by Religion? But conſider we laſtly, with what circumſtances, and motives, their Loyalties were qualified: and we may eaſily diſcern that Self-pre-

Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. servation might be as strong an Argument, as was their famed Loyalty. For they saw plainly the Rebel-Houses aimed at their Ruine, and seized their Estates. Had they any more profitable way then left them, or probable, to oppose their Enemies, than by giving Assistance to the King? And when their own Interest might suffice to constrain them to joyn with him, as is frequent for neighbours to assist their weaker Enemies, to prevent a more potent and dangerous Adversary; must this be cryed up, as such incomparable good Service, as can never, nor any other way, be recompensed but by opening a door to our own perdition? When they so cheerfully, and cleerly espouse the Cause of King and Country against their Religious Interest, (as hitherto they have only joyntly with it) it will be much more seasonable and proper to demand such Remunerations (though not so great) as now they expect. But to stretch to such length, breadth, and height their late Actions by Amplifications and Encomiums, as if they could as easily merit Earth, as Heaven, by doing scarce their duty; and to faign themselves even half mad with admiration, and astonishment, that any of the Friends to the King, should yet suspect them of Disloyalty, is but to follow the humour

humour of their Religion, which teaches, Becauſe their Church hath not erred at ſometimes, therefore at no time muſt it be thought for to Erre. Which yet, as unreaſonable as to all the World it appears, we will engage to comply with them in, when they ſhall be able to give but the tithe of Inſtances for their peaceableneſs and loyalty, as we ſhall for their Seditions, Treaſons, Rebellions, and Conſpiracies againſt all Government not hallowed with their Profeſſion. In a word, never let their unparallel'd confidence in juſtification of themſelves as to Obedience and Loyalty prevail over them, to imagine we will deny our Senſes and Experience, and all Record, and Hiſtories to the contrary: For, were there no more ingenious way to put theſe things out of doubt, we would readily pawn our Heads againſt their Beards, and our Lives againſt their meaneſt Limbs, that ſo far as writings and actions paſt can give any proof of future diſpoſitions, and motions, (I do not ſay a *Papiſt*, but) *Popery* cannot conſiſt with the Peace of this Nation or Church, as now eſtabliſhed, we will undertake to demonſtrate; when ever they ſhall be ſo bold as to tempt us to put them to ſo much juſt and neceſſary ſhame. And in truth, this has been ſo far and fully done, and that lately by others, Chap. 6.

Chap. 6. others, that were, it my present design (as it is not) to paint them out in their Postures, and Colours, the labour would be unnecessary: This therefore will I leave for them to be still astonished at, and me to prove; That a *Papist*, as a *Papist*, and following the most received and current Doctrine taught, and Presidents set, by that Church, (some I easily grant, as in all other points, may vary somewhat, but they are but few, and contemptible with them) and put in practise can never be a Loyal Subject, under any Prince not of the *Romish-Church*, any longer than necessity humbles him, and despair of prosperous success keeps him tame. Let us therefore hear what the other Extreme, the *Puritane*, hath to plead for, or rather against, himself; and whether he be a Child of better hopes, who gives us the very same promises with the other, and himself the same praises.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Opinions and Practice of Puritans, *directly oppoſite to that kind of Liberty of Conſcience they argue for, and at preſent deſire.*

IT hath been obſerved by ſome, that the *Jeſuites* and *Puritans* had their Original at the ſame time, with the difference of one year only. For the *Puritans* began to ſhew their Head in the year 1536; and the *Jeſuites* were admitted at *Rome* in the year 1537. But *Sanders* and *Genebrard* affirm they ſprang up in the year 1566. And I have heard the Providence of God towards the Church admired and magnified amongſt Foreign Papiſts, who, at the ſame time that the Presbyterians aroſe, ſtirred up the Jeſuites to oppoſe and countermine them. And I find it one of the beſt popular Arguments in the mouths, and lately in the writings, of Presbyterians, That they ought to be tolerated, and not only ſo but cheriſhed in this Church, for their ſingular enmity and oppoſition to Popery; which, when they are once put down, they give out muſt needs enter in. For thus ſpeaks one of

Sanderus De Hæreſ. p. 221
Genebrardus Chronol. An. 1566.

no

Chap. 7.

John Corbets Interest of England. p. 46.

no small account with them, *And verily if there were a design to reconcile* England *to* Rome, *let all means be used totally to quash the Puritans or Presbyterians; but if* England *will keep her self pure from* Romish *abominations, let her be a kind Mother to these her Children; for this Interest is one chief strength of the Reformed Protestant Religion.* Thus he.

An Argument, as current as it is, this is, consisting equally of Folly and Knavery, as will thus appear. First, because we having found by direful experience that the Presbyterians, as well as the Papists, have not only contrived and conspired against our Churches welfare, but have actually most scandalously and cruelly endeavoured the utter overthrow of the same, and still stick firmly to the same Principles, which instigated them to such unnatural and unjust practises; may not their Argument (as indeed it hath been) be turned thus against them for the Papists? Verily if there be a design to become Presbyterians, then let the Papists be totally quashed; but if *England* will keep her self pure from the Dominations of *Scottish* Presbytery, then let her be kind to the Papists, who have done as much against them as they have against the Papists; thus does the extreme vanity of their Argument appear;

pear; the only course to preserve our selves in peace and unity being to serve them both alike. Again, were it so that by accident (for it cannot be said out of design to the good of our Church) either of them might contribute somewhat to the good of the Church as now established, the rule which *Seneca* gives us in such cases is not to be neglected, *Non ideo vitia recipienda sunt, quia aliquando aliquid boni effecerunt*; *Evils are not to be admitted, because at certain times they have had some good effect*. So neither ought we to run to Popery for fear of Presbytery, nor run to Presbytery, for fear of Popery. But the way of arguing is likewise very knavish, in that by implication, a wicked slander is cast upon our Church, that it must needs favour Popery, if Puritanism be wholly rejected: But if we deny them such prevaricating Reasonings, we cut them out of all their prime confidences, and take away their most principal and successful Weapons. Therefore, leaving this, let us come neerer to their testimonies against themselves. In which, because they pretend great Reverence to Foreign Divines of the Reformation, it will not be much out of the way to set down one or two of their Authorities against them.

Chap. 7.

Seneca, l. 1. c. 12. de Irâ.

It is well known that *Beza* hath writ-

Chap. 7. written a Tractate on purpose, That Magistrates may, and ought to punish Hereticks, which they of his side, who doubt of this point, may turn to, and be convinced. I shall cite this only passage out of him, and so leave him. *Cedò igitur Christus quo jure flagella bis corripuit? Quo jure Petrus Annaniam & Sapphiram occidit? Quo jure Paulus Elymam excæcavit? Num Ecclesiastici Ministerii? Minimè profectò, &c.* [You that hold that the Magistrate ought not to punish Hereticks.] Tell me I pray, By what Authority did Christ twice take a whip up? By what Authority did *Peter* put to death *Annanias* and *Sapphira*? By what Authority did *Paul* put out the eyes of *Elymas*? What, by the Ecclesiastical Ministery? Nothing less truly, unless thou wilt confound Jurisdictions. Therefore was it done by the Authority of the Civil Magistrate: For, there is no third way.

Beza de Hæreticis a Magistratu puniendis.

Peter Martyr writeth not only against professed Hereticks, but such as call themselves tender-conscienc'd men too, allowing them toleration no longer than they may receive sufficient instruction; and addeth, *Imò neque in ipsis mediis rebus Infirmis est assentiendum, nisi tantisper dum melius ac perfectius doceantur.*

Petrus Mart. Loc. Com. Class. 2. c. 4. nu. 32, &c.

tur. Ac cum rem, &c. *Yea, neither in things indifferent are we to yield to the weak, unleſs for a while, until they may be better and more fully inſtructed: But ſo ſoon as they have underſtood the matter, and yet are doubtful, their Weakneſs is not to be cheriſhed. Beſides, ſo much ought not to be attributed unto ſuch, as that by our example we ſhould hurt others, and more of the members of Chriſt.* Thus *Martyr.* And it is to us plain (however they muſt and may be of another opinion) that by giving way to them that thus pretend tender Conſciences, we ſhould offend Conſciences a great deal better ſetled, and more to be regarded and valued than theirs, which (as experience from cruel havock, they have made in Church and Commonwealth, aſſures us) ſtrain at a gnat and ſwallow a Camel. Chap. 7.

And what other courſe took the *Contraremonſtrants* againſt their Brethren in the *Netherlands*, after the Council of *Dort*, but this; when they refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence then given? They decreed, That every one ſhould be deprived of all, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Scholaſtical offices, who refuſed to ſubmit punctually to the Acts of the Synod; and, that no man ſhould be admitted to the Miniſtry for the time to come, who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Doctrine

Act. Synod. pag. 324.

Synodal. Remonſtrat. in Præfat.

Chap. 7. Doctrine there declared, and preach according unto the ſame: And in purſuance of that final determination, no fewer than two hundred of the Oppoſite Party, who could not conform to the Acts thereof, were forwith baniſhed the Country; a Proclamation following them from the Magiſtrate, That no Man ſhould afford them any help or maintenance. Does not this match for a hair the extremeſt perſecution can at preſent be objected to the Church againſt Puritans? Or rather doth it not exceed it?

Bullingerus Epiſt. ad Calvin. Epi. 173. inter Calvini Epiſtolas.

Bullinger telleth us with full approbation and commendation, *Dudum D. Urbanus Regius unà cum omnibus Luneburgenſibus Eccleſiæ Miniſtris, edito etiam libro Germanico jure divino & humano coerceri Hæreticos, tum etiam jure civili; ſi non deſinant impia, &c.* i. e. *Maſter* Urbanus Regius, *together with all the Miniſters of* Luneberg *hath lately publiſhed a Book in the* Germane *Tongue, whereby he ſheweth that by the Law of God and Man, and Civil Law too, Hereticks ought to be reſtrained, if they ceaſe not to ſcatter wicked Doctrines, or have ſcatter'd blaſphemies againſt God.* And in the ſame Epiſtle he telleth us, *Not long ſince* Titian, *an* Italian *Anabaptiſt, an* Hebionite, *and* Helvidian *was caſt into priſon by the three Confederate Countries of* Rhetia, *and had*

been

been burnt, had he not made a Recantation; and yet, notwithstanding that, was whipt by the Court. Chap. 7.

And what *Calvin's* opinion was in this point we needed not inquire further than we are taught from his Fact, principally in causing *Servetus* to be burnt at *Geneva*. But his Institutions and Epistles, where he is much displeased with good *Melancthon* for straitning the breaches, and qualifying the distempers of both sides; and on the other side, his Book against the *Anabaptists* do clearly shew and prove unto us.

But whoever pleaseth to satisfie himself more fully and particulary concerning the opinions of Foreign Divines in the case of conscience about the granting liberty to scrupulous persons in matters of Indifferency, may consult Monsieur *Durels* diligent collections of several of them, negatively concluding against liberty in indifferent things, to any or many single persons, contrary to the constitutions of a Church: And in truth, they that contend for the same cannot shew a Church upon earth that indulges so far. So equal and ingenuous are they to tug so undeniably for it of us. But I now draw homeward, where I may be the more brief, because Bishop *Bilson* hath to any reasonable mans hand, already proved this Thesis, *That Magi-*

Bilson's Difference of Christian Obedience from, &c. pag. 33.

Chap. 7. *ſtrates may compel their Subjects, againſt their pretended conſciences, to Eccleſiaſtical Orders.*

Who of them can refuſe Mr. *Cartwright*, the Authors of the Admonition compiled in Queen *Elizabeths* days, and many Supplications to the Parliaments in thoſe days? do not they all run in one ſtrain of aboliſhing utterly the eſtabliſhed Government? and *Cartwright* in particular excepting againſt the Common Prayer for permitting the people to depart at the time of Communion; ſaith, *It ought to provide that all thoſe who would withdraw themſelves, ſhould be by Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline at all times, and now alſo under a Godly Prince, by Civil puniſhment brought to communicate with their Brethren. And this is the Law of God, and this is now, and hath been, the practice of the Churches Reformed*, &c.

Thom. Cartwright Reply to Whitgift. p. 117.

And I hope they take not Mr. *Perkins* to be any of their Enemies, though I think he had too much Learning and Honeſty to be a Fautor of ſuch deſigns and practices as are now on Foot: He, in a certain place, writes thus, *In perſecution of the Church by* Paul, *two points are to be conſidered, The manner or meaſure, and accompliſhment; the manner is, That he perſecuted the Church extreamly, or above meaſure. That which* Paul *did in his Religion we muſt do in ours.* His meaning plainly

Perkins on Gal. 1. v. 13, 14 p. 201, & 201. vid.

plainly is, That as *Paul* in a falſe Reli- Chap. 7.
gion and Zeal did perſecute the true, ſo
we in the true (and ſurely every man
ſuppoſes himſelf of the true Religion)
ought to perſecute the falſe. And after-
ward he hath theſe words, *The Toleration* Id. Galat.
of two Religions in one Kingdom is the over- 5. 15.
throw of Peace. And in another place of
the ſame Comment upon the *Galatians*,
he hath theſe words, "For this cauſe, Id. Gal. 3 23
"the *Jews* had but one Temple, one Mer- pag. 289.
"cy-ſeat, one High Prieſt, &c. Hence it
"follows, that in all Godly Chriſtian
"Commonwealths, where true Religion
"is eſtabliſhed, there may be no To-
"leration of any other Religion. For,
"that which is the end of Gods Laws
"muſt likewiſe be the end of all good
"Laws, in all Commonwealths and
"Kingdoms, namely to ſhut up the peo-
"ple into the unity of one Faith. Thus
far Mr. *Perkins*. And before all theſe he
gives a notable reaſon for Conſtraint.
"For, ſaith he, The multitude of people Id. Galat.
"amongſt us are like Wax, and are fit to 1. 6, 7.
"take the ſtamp and impreſſion of any
"Religion; and it is the Law of the
"Land, that makes moſt receive the
"Goſpel, and not Conſcience. And as
he brings a reaſon here for conſtraint, ſo
doth he elſewhere remove an Objection
commonly brought againſt it; which is
this, "It may be ſaid, that Faith and

Chap. 7.

"Conſcience are free. I anſwer (ſaith "he) though Faith in the heart, and "and Conſcience be free in reſpect of "mans authority, yet is not the publiſh-"ing of Faith and Profeſſion of Conſci-"ence free in like ſort, but it ſtands ſub-"ject to the power of the Magiſtrate.

Id. Galat. 5. 15.

But it is time now to deſcend yet lower to the Doctrine of ſuch who were of the ſame Confederacy with the preſent ſuers for liberty. In the year of our Lord 1641. Mr. *Marſhal* preached his famous piece on *Numbers* 23. 5. of, *Curſe ye Meroz*; which ſpeaks nothing leſs than Toleration of tender Conſciences (if it be lawful to ſuppoſe any conſcience can be tender which differs from them) but drives on with a fury them who were not backward to oppreſs men in their Conſciences and Religion. Amongſt other things this he leaves with his Auditors, coming to Application, that being obliged to curſe their Adverſaries, this Curſing conſiſted in two things, *Maledicere Verbo*, and *Malefacere Re*. They were to curſe or ſpeak evil of them in Word: And they were to do them miſchief in Deed: Which interpreted by their practice is as much as, Rail on them, and Kill them.

Mr. Marſhal his Sermon before the Houſe. 1641

Sam. Faircloth Sermon before the Houſe of Commons, April 4. 1641.

Mr. *Faircloth*, preaching in the ſame year againſt *Achans* Villany, and *Joſuah's* zeal againſt him, declares much againſt the

the *Achans* that hindered the intended Reformation, and the Toleration of the Church-party; yea, againſt Procraſtination of Severities againſt them; *p.* 37. *Doct.* 4. And *p.* 40, 41. he anſwereth the Argument of delay taken from *Fabius Maximus*, with Application, 1. of Praiſe. 2. of Prayer. Then comes he to Motives: It is God's will, you make ſpeed. 2. *Achans* make ſpeed to do hurt. 3. Delay hinders the joy and jubilee of the Church. 4. Ye ſhall bring bleſſings to your ſelves. 5. Juſtice executed on them, is the only end of all your Prayers. Thus he. Again, *'Tis not Partial Reformation and Execution of Juſtice upon ſome offenders will afford us help, except thoſe in Authority extirpate all* Achans, *with* Babyloniſh *Garments, Orders, Ceremonies, Geſtures be rooted out from among us.* Again, *Worthies of* Iſrael, *it lies in you to enquire out this* Babyloniſh *company, and to repay them eye for eye, tooth for tooth, burning for burning, ear for ear, liberty for liberty, and blood for blood.* Now if they, by an uſurped authority acting, taught ſuch zeal againſt their Superiors; can they hold it unreaſonable that Legal authority ſhould proceed according to their own Maxims? But I ſhall not need to repeat innumerable inſtances wch might be given of their impatience at the name of Toleration or Moderation, which they

Chap. 7.

pag. 44, 45.

pag. 49.

pag. 50, 51.

pag. 28.

Mr. Bridges on Revel. 4. 8. p. 10.

Chap. 7.

See the Directory. Cartwright Preface to his Reply.

were wont to brand with the note of Deteſtable Neutrality. What was that language or deſign which *Cartwright* of old taught our late ſticklers, but a thorow Reformation? and how did he, and they after him, propound the examples of *Ezechiah*, *Joſiah*, and *Jehoſhaphat*, for that they made whole and thorow-*Reformation*, *&c*? And is there any amongſt them, or us, ſo ignorant that knows not what they meant by thorow-Reformation? and that in truth, as their Covenants and Actions demonſtrated, was nothing elſe but the utter exſtirpation of the eſtabliſhed Government and ſubverſion of the Church then, and ſo conſtituted. But peradventure they would now for peace ſake (and ſo ought we to) divide and ſhare alike. I know this is the tale they have got at their tongues end now a days, whereby they procure the eſteem by ſome, of Moderate Men. But is this with any ſerious or diſcerning man a tolerable argument for them, when as never were there any perſons ſo violent, rank, or extreme in their principles, but, when they found it not poſſible to obtain what their principles, and deſign impel them to contend for, ſeem at leaſt ſatisfied with ſo much as they can get, though they will no longer reſt ſo than advantage ſhall carry them further. But let us hear

hear what Mr. *Cartwright* ſpake, when the Faction was low, againſt ſuch a peace as now is preferred to us: And you may not only read the ſame deſign, but words and arguments exactly in theſe more modern Reformers, which Mr. *Cartwright* had, and the ſame ſpirit acting both him and theſe, "Peace "(ſaith he) is commended to us with "theſe conditions. [If it be poſſible, if "it lies in us.] Now it is not poſſible, it "lieth not in us, to conceal the truth; "we can do nothing againſt it, but for "it. It is a prophane ſaying of a pro- "phane man, That *an unjuſt peace* is bet- ter *than a juſt War?* Who ſees not from hence moſt plainly, that nothing but every thing will ſatisfie theſe men? And do they not hold that an unjuſt peace, whereby they are kept in quiet with- out their diſcipline? and is not that a juſt War which is made for its ſake? More a great deal (all know) might be added againſt them from their own mouths and hands; he that ſtill doubts may look into that Treatiſe called *Evan- gelium Armatum*; which, though an im- perfect, and indeed an abortive piece in compariſon of what was due to ſuch a ſubject, yet doth ſufficiently declare their tempers and conſtitutions to be a- gainſt all mediocrity or compounding of Differences. I have not touched any

Chap. 7.

Cartwright Preface to his Reply.

Chap. 7.

Mr. Love preached this Sermon on Advent Sunday, his Text being, Pſal. 68. v. 7. O God when thou wenteſt forth before thy people when thou didſt march through the wilderneſs, &c.

thing therein; nor is that famous Maſter *Love* the Presbyterian *Martyr* there mentioned (as I remember) or at leaſt, not his Ranting and Railings at the attempted or pretended accommodation to be made by the Presbyterian faction at *Uxbridge*, with the King; nor his Sermon at *Windſor*, where, in the flame of his zeal for the Cauſe, he exhorted the people *to ſell their Bibles, and buy Muskets to fight* againſt the King, and being (as he ſuppoſed) lead to it by his Text, ſpake thus, *That if God ſhould go before the King's Party, He ſhould be the greateſt ſinner upon Earth:* which paſſage ſo exorbitant being heard and excepted againſt by one of the Church of *England*, he was called to account for ſpeaking irreverently of Mr. *Love*, before the Governour of *Windſor* Caſtle; but publickly affirming and proving the ſame to be as he reported, by appeal to many Auditors of his, then preſent, who could not deny they heard the words; he was rebuked for not making the beſt conſtruction of what godly men taught. The ſame Mr. *Love* (ſo pacifick and charitable a ſpirit are they acted by) mounting the Scaffold at the Execution of the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, put to death to ſatiate the *Scots* appetite, and ſuch as ſymbolize with them, after Prelatical blood, with greateſt exſultation

ſultation ſpringing at the ſight, utter'd theſe words, *Art thou come Little* Will? *I am glad to ſee thee here, and hope to ſee the reſt of the Biſhops here e're long:* And that moſt innocent blood being ſhed on the Srage at his beheading, he took out his Handkerchief and ſtained it therewith; and the Murther being over he rode with it to *Uxbridge*, and drawing it forth in the preſence of divers perſons ſpake thus moſt triumphantly, *Here is the blood of that proud Prelate; I hope for more of their bloods e're long.* Which Mr. *A. F.* Commiſſary to the Earl of *Eſſex* hearing ſaid to ſome then preſent, and divers elſewhere afterwards, before his death; that he could not believe ſuch a bloody man would die in his bed. And ſo by the ſtrange and juſt hand of Providence it came to paſs, himſelf ſuffered in the very ſame manner that he had rejoyced to ſee others. But yet becauſe he made uſe of the King's name to advance his Presbytery from *Scotland* into *England*, this muſt be ſet on the ſcore as an high inſtance to prove, what good Subjects Presbyterians can be, when their Diſcipline requires it. Chap. 7.

But paſſing ſimple authorities and teſtimonies of Puritans againſt themſelves pleading for Toleration; we may come to a further double ſelf-condemnation of them. And to this end I might inſert here

Chap. 7.

A Letter of the Ministers of London, from Sion-Colledge to the Synod of Divines against Toleration, Printed.

here what hath been so lately reprinted and published of the Presbyterian Brethren of Sion-College, or Ministers of the City of *London*, to their Brethren of the Synod then at *Westminster*, against Toleration of *Independents*. Which is so pregnant and cutting a way of arguing against them, that I know not what possibly can be urged more justly and reasonably by us, or less answered by them. For I think they will blush (who have not forsworn it) to say, we have any greater or better grounds to tolerate them, than they the Independents. For my part, I could never understand they had any Authority over these, or the separation of Independents from Presbytery was ever any more a Schisme than the Presbyterians opposition to, or separation from the Independents. For, though both of them (I mean some of both Parties) might be said in some sense to be of a Church, neither of them were ever a true Church, as bungled and patched together by their novel imaginations. Yet such was the jealousie and emulation of Presbyterians, that they would by no means have any co-ordinate Faction with their own, suffered.

Again in the year 1644 *Decemb.* 16. (as appears by Mr. *Cranford's Imprimatur*) another notable and not unlearned Treatise of the Presbyterians was pub-

publiſhed againſt Toleration, with this Title. *Wholeſome ſeverity reconciled with Chriſtian Liberty or the true Reſolution of a preſent Controverſie concerning Liberty of Conſcience.* Where firſt, To the Chriſtian Reader, the Authour thus ſpeaks.——— *Shall I add further that all who wiſh well to the Publique, from Principles either of Religion or Policy, want not here their own temptations, perſwading to a Toleration of Sectaries in regard of a neceſſity of an union againſt the Common Adverſary, and the great Hazard, if not certain, ruine of the Cauſe by our own Ruptures.* Chap. 7.

Under the fair colours and handſome pretexts do Sectaries infuſe their Poiſon, I mean their Pernicious, God-provoking, Truth-defacing, Church-ruinating, and State-ſhaking Toleration.

And immediately before, thus he writes. *They cry out for Toleration and Liberty of Conſcience, hereby going about, not only themſelves, to fiſh in troubled waters, but to improve at once the manifold advantages of Sympathizing with the principles of moſt part of men amongſt us. For as it is a Common Plea and bond of union among all Hereticks and Sectaries, how many ſoever their diviſions and ſubdiviſions be among themſelves, yea, they give (in this) the Right hand of Fellowſhip to the Prelatical, and Malignant party; for they alſo put in for Liberty of Conſcience: and as carnal and*

Chap. 7. *and profane men desire nothing more than that they may not be compelled to any religious duty, but permitted to do what seem good in their own eyes: So liberty of Conscience is a sweet and taking word among the less discerning sort of Godly People, newly come out of the house of Bondage, out of the Popish and Prelatical Tyranny: I say The less discerning sort, because those of the Godly, who have their senses exercised to discern good and evil, know that liberty of Heresie and Schism is no part of the liberty of Conscience, which Christ hath purchased to us at so dear a rate. But is there no Golden-hook and taking bait for the Magistrate? Yes sure. For his part, he is told that he may punish any breach of peace or Civil justice, or a trespass against the State, and against Civil Authority, but yet not put forth his power against any man for Heresie or Schisme, being matters of Religion and Conscience. As if both Politicians and Divines had been in a great Errour when they said, that the end and use of Magistracy is to make* Bonum Hominem *as well as* Bonum Civem, *a good man as well as a good Commonwealths man.*

Wholesome severity reconciled to, &c. pag. 5. pag. 6,7,8.

Now from his Opinion directly against Toleration of Heretiques and Schismatiques, let us proceed to his reasons against it. The first from Scripture, as *Deut.* 13.6,7,8,9,11. *Exod.* 22,20. *Deut.* 17.2,3, 4,5. Is largely prosecuted and defended.

A

A Second is taken from ſeveral examples, *Exod.* 32. 27. *Joſh.* 22. 12. 1 *Kin.* 18. 40, &c. Chap. 7. pag. 9.

A third Argument is drawn from the New Teſtament, *Rom.* 13. 4, &c. A Fourth Argument is drawn from the names which Scripture giveth to Heretiques and Sectaries holding forth the extreme danger of Tolerating, and letting them alone. They are called ravening Wolves, *Matth.* 7. 15. and grievous Wolves, not ſparing the Flock, *Act.* 20. 29, Theeves, and Robbers, *John* 10. 8. Their word eateth as a Canker, 2 *Tim.* 2. 17. and is as A little Leaven Leavening the whole lump, *Gal.* 5. 9. They are Troublers of *Iſrael*, *Act.* 15. 24. *Gal.* 5. 12. 12. 14.

Thus far that Authour: Next he ſaith he anſwereth all the material Objections: which in very truth are the moſt and beſt that are now ſo confidently offered by the Presbyterians in behalf of themſelves. Which I might repeat and refute from themſelves; but that I favour the Reader, and hold it too burdenſome to him, and my ſelf to tranſcribe any more of him. 15.

I had once therefore determined, to the end that all the World, and eſpecially themſelves, might ſtand convicted of the unreaſonableneſs of their demands and expectations at preſent, to give the ſumme of their arguments; but conſider-

ing

Chap. 7.

ing how ſmall a Treatiſe that is, and how lately it is come forth, I ſhall preſume that it is already well known. And I ſhall only give the ſumm of Mr. *Edwards* Reaſons, famous for his Pieces called the *Gangreen*, wherein he argues ſtrenuouſly againſt the Toleration of *Independents* then, and of his own Party now. To prove this then more methodically and ſtrongly, he lays theſe two general grounds againſt Toleration. Firſt, ſays he, Apoſtolical Practice is againſt this. Secondly, It cauſes men to run into the Violation of the conſtant practice and example of the Church, during all the time of the Apoſtles: and puts Churches upon practices that are abſurd, and unreaſonable, and prejudicial to the good of Souls: That Government that is not of Divine Inſtitution, is not to be received: But the *Independent* doth ſo, ſaith Mr. *Edwards*: and we much more juſtly. But the *Preſbyterian* doth ſo. And we prove it by Mr. *Edwards* his words following, *They force men to have Miniſters and Officers without being Ordained, contrary to the practice of the Churches all along the New Teſtament: as* Act. 6. v. 6. Act 4. 23. *No man being Ordained Officer of the Church, without Ordination, Let them produce one Inſtance if they can.* Thus M. *Edwards*. Now M. *Edwards* being dead, I in his ſtead challenge any, yea, all the *Presbyterians*, to

Edwards his Reaſons againſt Toleration, Anno 1641.

pag. 3. 4.

to give one Inſtance thorow all the Old, or New-Teſtament, or the whole Church of God for 1500 years ſince the Incarnation, that a naked *Presbyter*, or *Prieſt*, ever Ordained; or, if by higheſt Uſurpation, they did attempt ſuch a thing at any time, ſuch Ordination was ever accepted, or held good by the Church. But I deſire they would find ſome better ground to prove this, than the Identity of Biſhop and *Presbyter* anciently: For Firſt, this is no leſs doubted of, than that they would prove by it. Secondly, If becauſe St. *Hierome* is thought to have been of that Opinion, (as ſome take his words) we ſhould ſuppoſe, and not grant, that they were ſo once, it proves nothing now: when it is moſt certain they are not ſo, nor have been ſo, for many hundred years: And therefore men and women both, impoſing hands upon their Paſtor among *Independents*, if the Ordination of theſe be condemned by *Presbyterians*; the *Presbyterians* Ordination may altogether be of no account among us. Chap. 7.

After this M. *Edwards* proceeds to prove particularly, That Toleration is not to be allowed: And Firſt, from the Vanity and Impertinency of the Texts of Scripture brought to prove it. "For though "(ſaith he) the Scripture ſpeaks much "for Tolerating and bearing one with "another *Edwards. lib.*

Chap. 7. "another in many things, both in mat-
"ters of Opinion and Practice, as these
"places testifie, *Rom.* 14. 1, 2, 3, 5, 13,
"14, *v. Rom.* 15. 1, 2, 7. *Ephes.* 4. 23.
"*Philip.* 3. *v.* 15. 16. Yet, when dif-
"ferences come either to *Heresie* or
"*Schism*, and Points to be maintain'd
"by men, so as to trouble and disturb
"the Church, then the Scriptures are
"express against their Toleration and
"sufferance, requiring them who have
"Power, to hinder it, as may be seen,
"*Revel.* 2. 20. *Tit.* 1. *v.* 10. *Tit.* 3. 10.
"*Gal.* 5. *v.* 10, 12. and so on. And
are not the differences now among us
come already to *Schismatical* and *Sedi-
tious Divisions* amongst us? are they then
any longer to be Tolerated? Or, were
these and the following Reasons, only
intended for the use of *Presbytery*, but
must lose all their vertue and validity,
when that is the Case against which they
make directly?

Secondly, he at the same time answers a Principal argument now in great use; and confirms his Thesis thus. "The
"Toleration desired will not help to heal
"the *Schisms* and Rents of this Church,
"but will much foment and encrease
"them. For whilest some Congregations,
"and they accounted of note both for
"Ministers and People, will not submit
"to the Reformation, and Government
"setled

"ſetled by Law; this will breed in the Chap. 7.
"Peoples minds many thoughts *ex na-*
"*turâ rei*, that this Church is not ſetled
"according to the word of God, and is
"unlawful, &c. Reaſons hereof fol-
"low.

3. "This Toleration will not only
"breed Diviſions and Schiſms diſturbing
"the Peace of Churches and Towns, by
"ſetting them, who are of different Fa-
"milies, and more remote Relations
"one againſt another; but it will un-
"doubtedly cauſe much Diſturbance,
"Diſcontents, and Diviſions between
"the neareſt Relations of Husbands and
"Wives, Fathers and Children, Bro-
"thers and Siſters, Maſters and Ser-
"vants; the Husband being of one
"Church, and the Wife of ano-
"ther, *&c.*

4. "There will be great danger of
"continual Diviſions, Diſtractions, and
"Diſputes among us, not only from the
"Different Form of Government and
"Worſhip in their Churches and ours;
"but from other Doctrines and Pra-
"ctices held by ſome of them for the
"preſent.

5. "The moſt eminent Miniſters of
"this Kingdom for grace, parts, and la-
"bours, can have little aſſurance of the
"continuance of their Flocks to them,
"if ſuch a Toleration be granted; For

Chap. 7. "they will draw away their People and "admit them into their Churches, and "even gather & encreaſe their Churches "out of the labors of ỹ beſt Miniſters, &c.

6. "It will be, undoubtedly, a means "and way of their infinite Multiplica- "tion and Encreaſe; even to encreaſe "them thirty Fold.

7. "The prime and Fundamental Prin- "ciples of this *Independent* (and like- "wiſe *Presbyterian*) way, upon which "they erect their Church-way, are very "prejudicial and dangerous, and unſuf- "ferable to this Kingdom.

8. Theſe *Independents*, (and much "more *Presbyterian*) men where they "have power, would not give a Tolera- "tion for any other *Eccleſiaſtical* Go- "vernment, or Churches but in their "own way: They would not ſuffer "men of other Opinions in Doctrine "and Government, to live within the "bounds of their Patent, though at the "fartheſt bounds; but have Baniſhed "them, &c.

9. "A Toleration may be demanded "upon the ſame grounds for all the ri- "gid *Browniſts* of the Kingdom, and for "all *Anabaptiſts*, *Familiſts*, and other "*Sectaries*, who profeſs 'tis Conſcience "in them.

And thus you have the Heads of the *Presbyterian* Reaſons in the Words of Mr.

Mr. *Edwards*: which if they may not be more ſtrongly turned againſt themſelves, now moving for Toleration, I muſt profeſs my ſelf to underſtand neither Them, nor their Logick, nor the *Engliſh* Tongue. But if any be yet ſo blindly fond, and reſolutely opinionated of the equity and fair dealing of the Preſbyterians, & ſo perſwaded their good nature will lead them to more moderate counſels and actions, ſeeing experience eſpecially agreeable to profeſſed principles is the only reaſonable way to judge of them, and no experience can poſſibly be had of what is to come, but only of paſt things; to give preſent ſentence; Let us hear how, not an enemy, but themſelves deſcribe themſelves by Mr. *Calamies* mouth. *I am informed by the Commiſſioners of* Scotland *that the Nation of* Scotland *are now taking the Covenant, that we took the Lords day in this City. And you know that a Scotch-Covenanter is a terrible thing: You know what mighty things they did by their laſt Covenant. You know the name of a Covenanter, the very name of it did do wonders. And I am aſſured by them, that there is not one Perſon in the Kingdom of* Scotland *that is not a Covenanter, and there ſhall not one abide among them that will not take this Covenant.* This is their Doctrine, theſe have been, and in all probability are like to be practices, when ever

Chap. 7.

Mr. Calamys ſpeech at Guildhall, Octob. 6. 1643.

Chap. 7. Power favours them: what need any ſtronger Teſtimonies (if it were poſſible any could be) againſt them; or what fairer or equaller Apology can be expected on our part, than having Lawful Authority, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical on our ſide, to imitate them, and do what they neither had lawful Cauſe nor Authority to do. And if men will perſiſt in their unſeaſonable, unreaſonable, and unconſcionable demands againſt all theſe ſo irrefragable Arguments to the contrary; we have nothing left but our Prayers, Tears, and Confuſion, which our notorious Flagrant Sins have brought upon us: And if Authority deſerts us with ſuch advantages on our ſides, as nothing on Earth can miniſter greater, nor any Equal Judge require better; we ſhall eaſily ſee from whence this Judgement comes, and why, (not for any wrong in this Caſe done to our Antagoniſts) *viz.* becauſe we have ſinned, and are come down wonderfully.

I might here conclude all; but that, as I have diſputed againſt them out of their own mouths and books; ſo I judge it not Impertinent to ſhew the inſufficiency of their reaſons from their anſwers, or ſuch as they are not wont to queſtion, unleſs when they are too expreſs againſt themſelves.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Certain Exceptions, which may be made by Puritans *againſt what hath been delivered, anſwered.*

WE have already prevented the vulgar, and general Refuges made by ignorant and undiſcerning men againſt the way of our Church, and in behalf of their Diſcipline, taken from the miſ-underſtanding of Tyranny, Extremes, Moderation, and Chriſtian Liberty: with which Notions Seducers are wont to make a great ſhow amongſt well-affected, but ill-adviſed People. We have likewiſe even now anſwered that which they offer to the People plauſibly in moſt of their late books, though heretofore we could never wring a ſyllable from them to that purpoſe, from the great benefit of the Peace of the Church; out of Mr. *Cartwright* and Mr. *Edwards*. And that Objection is likewiſe removed by Mr. *Perkins* moſt clearly, which urges us, that Conſcience is Free and cannot be forced. So that there appears not much to remain behind alledged by them, deſerving further anſwer. Yet two, or three things we ſhall

Chap. 8. add out of them, to the former; and ſo end.

And Firſt, I foreſee it may be Excepted, that our diſcourſe generally runs againſt grievous *Hereticks*, where we ſhew the Judgement and Practice of the Ancient Church againſt them, which will not hold againſt thoſe of our days and Church, who are no *Hereticks*. To which I thus anſwer:

Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 5. 3.

Firſt, That according to the ſenſe of the Code, the Laws made againſt *Hereticks* do comprehend *Schiſmaticks*, and ſuch as differ from the Church in leſſer and lighter matters. *Hæreticorum autem vocabulo continentur, & latis adverſus eos ſanctionibus ſuccumbere debent, qui vel levi argumento a judicio Catholicæ Religionis & tramite detecti fuerint deviare.* i. e. "*Under the name of Here-*"*ticks, are comprehended and ought to be* "*puniſhed by the Sanctions made againſt* "*them, all ſuch as are found to ſwerve in a* "*light matter from the judgement, and path* "*of Catholick Religion.* And the fifth General Council at *Conſtantinople* doth ſtigmatize all for *Hereticks* [Αἱρετικὸς δὲ λέγομεν, &c.] *Who rend themſelves from, and ſet themſelves up Synagogues or Conventicles againſt the Canonical Biſhops.* And S. *Auſtine* againſt *Creſconius* the Donatiſt ſtyles the Donatiſts Hereticks, For that they perſiſted in an old Schiſme. And certainly,

Concil. 5. Conſtantin. Can. 6.

Aug. Contra Creſc. Grammat. l. 2. c. 8. Nam & Hæretici eſtis quòd vel in Schiſmate inveterato remanſiſtis, &c.

ly, it is but a pittiful Tiffany, thin palliation of Schiſme of the fouleſt nature, to ſpeak againſt Schiſme, (as they do ſometimes very ſolemnly) and yet to perſevere to Act it: or ſay, they hold us to be a Church, and can peak into the Church to hear what they think fit of a Sermon, obſtinately and ſtomachfully avoiding the Communion of Prayers, and Celebration of the Euchariſt with us, wherein only and properly Communion conſiſteth. And yet if I ſhould ſay the Puritanes are direct Hereticks, I ſhould affirm no more than one, whom ſome ſuſpect but too much inclined to ſome of their Doctrinal Tenets, have plainly ſaid before me, I mean Learned Dr. *Crackenthorp*; who writes thus againſt the Fugitive Biſhop of *Spalato*; *They that are of the Puritane Hereſie, are herein properly Aerians; and therefore are properly Hereticks. And ſuch the Church of* England *confutes as well by Learned writings; as reſtrains by juſt puniſhment, if any be found of it: and yet Thou art not aſhamed to affirm that the Church of* England *is wont to Communicate with Puritanes, and with the Hereſie of Puritanes.* Thus *Crackenthorp.* Chap. 8.

Qui in Hæreſi Puritanorum illi verè in hoc Aeriani; ideoq; verè Hæretici ſunt. Eos Eccleſia Anglicana & Scriptis iiſque doctiſſimis refutat, & ſi quando, &c. Crackenthorp Defen. Eccleſ. Ang. & cap. 41. num. 4.

Secondly, They themſelves, (as appears plainly by Mr. *Edwards* his Reaſons) will no more ſuffer Schiſmaticks, (no not their brethren the *Independents*,

Chap. 8. whom they dare not call *Hereticks*, and who had deserved so well at their hands, (which as yet they never did at ours) than *Hereticks*. 3*ly*, The practice of the ancient Church, as in part we have shewed, did always persecute Schismaticks as well as Hereticks. 4*ly*, The Pleas and Excuse of our Dissenters are not so allowable in the principle point of Heresie, as are most Hereticks. For, there being two Essential parts of Heresie generally received, A Formal part, consisting in the pravity of the mind, and disposition of the heart, and obstinacy of the will; And a Material part, consisting in the Errour it self maintained: Men of our Age and Countrey have more of the Formality of Hereticks, than they who are direct Hereticks: Forasmuch as an Heretick erring in Articles of Faith, may be truly said, and allowed to make a conscience of what he (though Erroniously) believes: for being matters of Faith, they are proper Objects of Conscience, whose Sphere is good, and Evil. But they who do not differ, nor dissent (as they say) in Matters of Faith from the Church, but yet keep themselves at a distance from the Authority of the same, may indeed (whether we will or no) call their dissenting by the name of Conscience; but it is well known in reason, or propriety of speech,

ſpeech, it cannot be ſo termed; when there not ſo much as appears Good, or Evil, in the thing it ſelf: And therefore it muſt of neceſſity be Reſolution not to agree or yield, & that is nothing elſe but obſtinacy, as their own juſtifications do imply, when being demanded, why they cannot in conſcience comply? They (to my knowledg) anſwer, they cannot do it, *ſly* As M. *Edwards* ſaid againſt the Independents, we may ſay againſt the *Presbyterians*, viz. That we know not the bottom of their Reformation, nor where it will end, nor what it doth hold, notwithſtanding their publiſhed confeſſions, & Catechiſms Larger, or Leſſer; there being infinite Points, which, like obſtructions to a man travailing by Mapps, when they ſhall come to put in practice, will ariſe unexpectedly. And beſides Mr. *Cartwright*, whom they follow as their Modern Apoſtle, tells us in their ſtead, *Certain of the things we ſtand upon are ſuch, that if every hair of our head were a life, we ought to afford them for the defence of them.* Again, in the ſame Treatiſe he reproveth Biſhop *Whitgift* for diſtinguiſhing between matters of Faith and neceſſary to Salvation; and Ceremonies Orders and Diſcipline of the Church; *as though* (ſaith he) *matters of Diſcipline and kind of Government were not matters neceſſary to Salvation and of Faith.* Are theſe men un-

Chap. 8.

Cartwrights Reply to Biſhop Whitgift, p. 5.

Id. p. 14. And Reply to the Anſwer, p. 1.

Chap. 8. underſtood, or to be truſted, when they ſay, they demand only ſuch things as we may eaſily grant? Will they lay down their lives for them?

In very truth they have made their Father *Cartwright* but too true a Prophet herein. For they have not only nor ſo much laid down their own Lives, but the Lives of many others, to bring to paſs their Diſcipline; with which they have been ſo long in travel, and ſtill labour with. And leaſt *Cartwright* alone had not ſufficed to have profeſſed Martyrdome for the Cauſe. Mr. *Calamy* takes up his words upon the ſame Intereſt, and ſays. *This Cauſe is every ways ſo juſt, and every way ſo honeſt, and ſo good, that I may truly ſay as the Martyr did.* [The Martyr I ſuppoſe was *John Ardley* who ſaid ſo indeed for the true Reformed Faith not for a Faction. See *Fox Act. Mon. Vol. 3. pag. 253.*] *If I had as many Lives, as I have hairs on my head I would be willing to ſacrifice all theſe lives in this Cauſe.* Thus ye ſee what meek and peaceable Spirited men theſe are, and how fair in their Preſidents: Who ſtick not to turn that ſaying of the Martyr declaring his paſſiveneſs and ſubmiſſion to death for the Faith, to juſtifie their Active arms againſt both Powers: as if it ever had been the pur-

M. Calamy his ſpeech at Guild-Hall, Oct. 6. 1643. About the Scots Advance.

purpoſe or meaning of that or any other Martyr to expoſe his life, by open hoſtility, to danger for the Faith it ſelf. How much leſs then would any good Chriſtian arm and war againſt a Ceremony or Rite? Or if theſe be not ſufficient warrant to lay down their lives, and make ſlaughter of others, there muſt remain ſomewhat behind and concealed, which will commend and juſtifie ſuch attempts. Chap. 8.

Secondly, They profeſs that they are ready *to come up to us*, if we would grant certain light matters.

But with what truth and ſincerity let their Actions all along ſpeak, which aimed at nothing leſs than the ruine and abſolute diſſolution of our Church. And let *Thomas Cartwright* in the next place tell us in theſe words, *Indeed it were more ſafe for us to conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the Papiſts which are ſo near.* And we well know how altogether Popiſh we are in our Ceremonies, according to their opinion. And we being as near their Diſcipline, as they are to our Ceremonies, and Government; may we not as well ſay, *Indeed it were more ſafe for us to conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the Heathens, than to the Diſciplinarians, which are ſo near?* And thus ye ſee, how, according to their princi- *Id. Reply pag.* 102.

Chap. 8. principles we are like to come to a good agreement, and an happy compoſure, as when they would ſmooth over the matter they diſſemblingly ſpeak, calling ſmall and new Acquiſitions, Moderation.

Thirdly, They ſay, that Indifferent things ought to remain ſo, and they ought not to be obliged any further than Chriſt and the Scripture binds them.

The firſt part of this argument is as falſe, dangerous, and pernicious to all Churches and all Eccleſiaſtical Authority, as the wit of man can invent any thing; and is quite contrary to Scriptures, which require obedience (as likewiſe themſelves do being in power) to Superiours. And therefore to deny Superiours that wherein only their power is ſeen and exerciſed, is to take away what the Scripture grants them. Now to the ſecond part. Chriſt and the Scripture oblige men to be ſubject in ſuch caſes to men: And *Calvin* expreſsly ſaith, *Improbare quod nunquam improbavit Deus, nimiæ eſt homini inquam mortali temeritatis & arrogantiæ: Hoc autem perpetuò teneamus, uſurpari*, &c. *i. e.* "To condemn that which God never condemned, is too great raſhneſs "and arrogance for Mortal man. But "let

Calvinus Adverſus Anaba. p. 27. 2. in octav.

"let us hold to this constantly, that Chap. 8.
"the authority of God is usurped, when
"that which he hath permitted is con-
"demned. And shew where God hath not permitted any one of our Rites, or Ceremonies. And if ye cannot (as we are sure you cannot;) How do ye not take Gods Office out of his hands in condemning that he hath not, being all Private men, and of no authority over us? To this, let us add Mr. *Perkins* speaking thus, *Things are not called Indifferent, because we may use them indifferently, or not use them, when we will, and how we will: but because in themselves, or in their own nature they are neither good, nor evil; and we may again not use them well, or ill: Furthermore, there are two things which Restrain the use of things Indifferent, The Law of Charity, and the Laws of Men, &c.* And the same Author in another place saith, *Actions Indifferent in the case of Offence, or Edification, cease to be Indifferent, and come under some Commandment of the Moral Law.* In which, S. *Paul* saith, *If eating Flesh will Offend*, &c. Thus he. Now eating Flesh doth offend at some times, and that not equals, of whom St. *Paul* speaks, but Superiours; And a man would think, that a sincere conscience ought to have greater regard to these,

Perkins on Gal. 2. v. 3.

Perkins Cases of Conscience, l. 1. chap. 5.

Chap. 8. these, than to other persons. 4*ly*, Because they see their own acts to testifie so expresly against Toleration, in raising and acting one of the most sad and unjust Tragedies that ever *England* felt, and groaned under; and this principally to introduce a strange Worship, contrary to the Laws, and Consciences of so many Thousands, and their Superiours, it not being possible to shake this off them, some of them shift thus away: That if they did evil, we ought not to do so too. For though the matter be so gross, that for arguments sake they do seem outwardly to relent, and recede from their injustice, and rigour, to the end, they may with more confidence demand favour at our hands, to whom they could do no justice; yet in truth they repent of nothing so much, as that they did not use greater extremities towards us, appears by their reserving to themselves, all true signs and effects of true Repentance: For to one another or to the People, whom they have grosly misled so far, that it is frequent with them to say, that they could conform, but that they have taught the People otherwise, (an imprudent, as well as an ungodly evasion) they never make any such acknowledgement: But whereas they, upon

upon the nature of true Repentance, are obliged to do their plain and utmoſt indeavours to undeceive, and reſtore them to the truth; they, on the contrary, uſe all ſubtile and ſecret artifices to nouriſh ſuch wicked Errours as they have bred in them, while they themſelves in cloſe diſcourſe being expoſtulated with, for the occaſion, will ſay as Mr. *Corbet* doth, There might be ſome exceſs heretofore, by the *Presbyterian* committed. But to the Point: It no ways followeth, that if the *Presbyterians* offended (and that notoriouſly) in Perſecuting deadly the Church, therefore a retaliation of the ſame meaſure ſhould be called (as they would have it) revenge, or be unjuſt. For, waving at preſent the differences of the cauſes (which how ever equal and indifferent judges would certainly give againſt them) they no doubt will to the laſt keep up diſputable; the manner of proceeding and acting make a foul difference. For there was wanting all Legal Authority both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, on that ſide; and yet dreaded they not to impoſe their pleaſures and Innovations both, on their brethren; who were no more ſubject to them, than were they to theſe; and alſo uſurped over their Governours too, and brought them either to obey their

Chap. 8.

Corbet's Intereſt.

Chap. 8. their Wills, or suffer their Vengeance: Which was an higher piece of iniquity than that of the *Pope* himself. For as we of this Church were free from his power; so have we nothing to do to give law to him: But these men were in all Lawful and Canonical subjection under those they would give Law unto, as well in Reference to conscience, as civil property. Yet am I not without a Witness of their own against them, even in this Particular. For thus reasonably writes one of them. "We "declare it, that it is true indeed we "cannot come up in all things to their "judgement who are over us, as we "know they could not come up to "ours, when we were advanced over "them. As we could not allow them "any publick imployment, or encou-"ragement, when they could not "comply with us, and our Laws, and "Constitutions: So we cannot expect "any publick imployment, or incou-"ragement from them, now we Dissent "from them, and cannot close with "their Laws and Constitutions, *&c.* This hath much of Ingenuity, if we compare it with the more common temper of them, which leads them only to take away Liberty from others, but to grant none. But neither must

Mysteries of Godliness and no Cabbala. p. 2.

must we ſuffer this conceſſion to paſs without cenſure. For according to their common and current craft with the Ignorant, fain they would ſhuffle and confound all Power ſo, and Lawful Authority, as that theirs it ſhould fairly and fully be, who can lay hold of it by Injuſtice, and retain it by Violence: And therefore becauſe once indeed, by ſpoil and rapine, they poſſeſſed themſelves of Power in Church and State; do they compare themſelves with ſuch, upon whom it deſcends fairly and orderly, by the received courſe of known Juſtice and Religion. But grant them this, we grant them almoſt all: But they muſt know, there is an infinite diſparity; which they can never remove, though they have put fair for it, ſome of them in reſolving, Firſt, all Civil-Power, and next, with little more infatuation and boldneſs, all Eccleſiaſtical Government into the power of the People; and the power of the People, into the power of the Sword. So that Perſon, or thoſe ſhould be unqueſtionably veſted in Civil Dominion, and that Society rightly conſtituted in Eccleſiaſtical Rule, who have Invaded the ſame, and are able to hold it: A Tenet of which I ſhall ſpeak no more at preſent than I have already, only Chap. 8.

Chap. 8. that God would give us if not Grace, humane Prudence, and reason so far to judge of, as may draw us to lament and prevent by humble Suits the unavoidable Disasters and Confusions it must again cover the face of that Earth with where it abides; And that God would restore so much of lost man in us, before we pretend to be Christians (and that of the best sort) as to stand to our own Judgements, and not to alter and vary according to our advantage, and necessities of our espoused Interests; producing quarrels and babbles to Eternity it self, if we could live so long; as they certainly would, who will neither yield to Reason, nor suffer their own Rules and Opinions to take place in them, so as to reduce them to order.

But the solemn and indissoluble band of their League and Covenant, cast upon themselves and others in authority, must by no means be violated; and besides, some Posteriorities are pretended and urged to the great advantage of the Discipline, and these arising from promises made of having regard to tender Consciences upon the entrance of his Majesty into his Throne, and some Disciplinarians great merits.

To the first part of these, it may be reasonably demanded, What that strange sacredness

ſacredneſs is, what unheard-of Excellency it hath, and new divineneſs, that neither any Oaths or Obligations, wherewith men were bound before, nor any wch they have ſince regularly taken, ſhould be of any force or vertue at all againſt the Covenant? But what ever went before, is made void by the Covenant, what ever follows is made abortive by the Covenant. How comes this about? Was the authority of the Inventors, or the juſt power of the propounders, or the divineneſs and ſacredneſs of the matter ſuch, that this, and none but this, muſt be of any validity or worth with us? Nothing leſs ſure: For, all theſe are unanſwerable Arguments againſt it; for, neither circumſtance, nor ſubſtance was either legal, or juſt, or holy; as may appear from the infinite falſifications, direct falſities both as to Hiſtory and Reaſon, with which that Treatiſe is fraught to juſtifie it, and confirm men of little conſcience and judgement, in that bond of Iniquity. Chap. 8.

The Covenants Plea againſt abſolvers.

But let their great Caſuiſt *Alexander Hinderſon* be here admitted to ſpeak, and how eaſie will it be to reſolve this doubt? That King of Bleſſed Memory, to whom he wrote to his own confuſion; objecting againſt his New Oath the Covenant, his old Oaths taken directly to the contrary at his Coronation, was then anſwer-

Chap. 8. ed, That the Parliament, and people to whom they were made, might free him from such engagements, (not that the King ever made such Oaths otherwise to Parliaments in his sense, but as they are the Peoples Representatives.) Which though, as the King solidly replies, is a false Supposition; yet hereby are evident the principles of Doctors, that Parliaments may lawfully quit the Prince of Oaths taken in reference to the People. Therefore, according to them, the perfect Parliament having not only declared against such Obligations, but by strong reasons manifested the nullity of them; what pretence can they have who are, and always were, but private men in such cases to urge their *Soveraign* with such burdens and bonds?

But further, The pretended promise was made to tender Consciences. And how doth it appear that the Presbyterians are comprehended under that expression? We absolutely deny the same. And what force can their bare Assertions and Testimonies given of themselves be to prove it; when we have such store of Instances of matter of Fact, which no men of good conscience, much less tender in the received sense, can willingly commit, and much less persevere to justifie? But if it must be so, that such a sense of tenderness of conscience must needs

needs be true, becauſe 'tis common and current; How will they not in opening that door for themſelves let in ſuch a Rabble as they ſhall have but little joy in their poſſeſſions? Will they multiply beggarly proofs, and ſay, They are a ſober, a godly, a moderate party; and ſo conclude juſt as much as they did before? Chap. 8.

7ly, Some there are who diſtinguiſh of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks. For, they are (ſay they) either peaceable, or unquiet and ſeditious: The ſeditious and unquiet Heretick or Schiſmatick (according to theſe) may not be ſuffered, but the modeſt, and ſober, and peaceable ought to be born with; and this is *Mentzerus* his deciſion; and the Plea of both Papiſt and Puritan with us at preſent. For now forſooth, *No ſuch good Subjects as Catholicks.* And the *Anabaptiſt* himſelf writes at large, *Saints no Smiters.* And now go round about, enter into the midſt of all that have been bitter Enemies to the King, and you muſt have as rare luck as he that draws a Prize at a Lottery, if you can pick out a diſloyal ſubject: In diſcourſe All Factions contend which ſhould pretend moſt Loyalty.

Mentzerus in Exegeſi Auguſtanæ Confeſſ. Art. 10. *Thomb's Saints no Smiters.*

But in anſwer to this diſtinction, we ſhall crave leave in like manner to diſtinguiſh of Rooks: for ſome Rooks ſet upon trees, and they pick not up the new-ſown Corn, and therefore may be born

Chap. 8. with, and not molested; and some Rooks set upon Lands, and they are not to be suffered, for they do hurt to Corn. Just such an one, and so to be favoured is the Heretick and Schismatick. I confess, the distinction had been tolerable, had it been made of the Abstracts, *Schisms* and *Heresies*. For true it may be, that some of both sorts contain nothing in them turbulent or seditious. But to take this in the Concrete, Schismaticks and Hereticks, is no less ridiculous than we have made it; and no less falsly supposed of them who at present put it into their Pleas, than of any other. And hear we what a Presbyterian further answereth to this. "*M. S. pag.* 53, 54. *Tells us that he is* "*not for the Toleration of Sects and Schisms,* "*except only upon this supposition, that the* "*Professors or maintainers of them be other-*"*wise Peaceable in the State, and every* "*ways subject to the Laws, and Lawful* "*power of civil Magistrate.* I Ans. *The experience of former times may make us so wise as to foresee that Heresie and Schism tendeth to the breach of the Civil Peace, and to a Rupture in the State, as well as in the Church,* &c. Which is most undeniably true: For as much, as though they are not always actually busie, all Sectaries, in propagating their opinions, yet there is a natural tendencie in all Opiniastres, and Sectaries to advance their tenets by all possible means,

Wholesome severity reconciled with Christian Liberty, p. 13.

means; which when obvious and easie, they soon call Lawful; and when difficult, they assay by all ways safe to themselves to render easie. And as to the peace they pretend to be tender of in Church, and Common, it amounts to no more than the Indemnity of themselves in pursuing their ends, which being assured them, they soon expound themselves to have meant by the Commonwealth their own Faction; and by the Church, their Schisme. Are not they, think we, of a very gentle, quiet, and peaceable Nature and Disposition, who being in power (not else you may be sure) in pursuance of their Schism, turned out of their Livings but 85 Ministers of the 97 Parishes within the Walls of *London*, whereof 16 died with sorrow, and 14 out of the 16 Parishes, without the Walls; and out of the 10 Out-Parishes 9; and so proportionably, where they were Masters; especially while they retain the very same Principles, whereby they so acted: *Pliny* tells us that the Lion, as fierce a beast as it is, may be made very gentle and tame by severe and seasonable treatments, so that one may suffer it to lick his very flesh; but his tongue being very rough, if in fawning and licking he chances to draw the least blood from a man, together with its slaver, he is so raviſh'd with the savourineſs of it, that he is put into rage and fury. So in truth,

Chap. 8.

Plin. Natur. Hist. l. 11. cap. 37. Leonibus ac Pardis omnibusq; generis ejus, etiam felibus [lingua] imbricatæ asperitatis, ac limæ similis attenuansq; tamen do, &c.

Chap. 8. truth, no queſtion but the fierceſt *Schiſmatick* or *Heretick* may be brought to a very gentle and familiar condition; but ſuffer him to have ſuch neer acceſs to Majeſty, as to but taſte the infinite ſweets of Power, and Rule; through a ſecure confidence in his general Innocency, ſo tranſported is he beyond his own ordinary, yet unnatural and forced temper, that his Ingenuity will ſoon end in injuſtice, and his fairneſs in fury; And then ſhall you beg Toleration of him, and be ſure to go without it, and that deſervedly.

Wholſome-ſeverity or Reaſons againſt Toleration, p. 51.

Eighthly, *I, but they be good men,* (this is word for word taken from Mr. *Edwards*) *and men of great gifts, and therefore they ſhould be Tolerated to have ſuch Churches, 'tis pity they ſhould leave the Land and we loſe their Prayers.*

Anſw. 1. *The better men they be, and the more able, the worſe to ſet up ſeparated Churches; for they will the more endanger the peace of the Kingdom, and make the Schiſms greater.*

2. *For their prayers, we may have the benefit of them, as well when they are abſent as preſent,* &c.

Id. pag. 30.

Ninthly, *If we may not have a Toleration and a Liberty of erecting ſome Congregations among you, this will force us to leave the Kingdom that we may have the Liberty of our Conſciences, and if you do, what cruelty is this?*

Anſwer.

Chap. 8.

Answer. *There is no need of a Toleration for you, and yet no need of forcing you to leave the Kingdom, that you may enjoy your Consciences: and that will appear if you calmly and meekly be content to hear reasons and Principles which you your selves agree to; as namely, you hold that our Churches are true Churches, our Ministers true Ministers, Ordinances of word & Sacraments true, and that you can partake with us in our Congregations in all Ordinances even in coming to the Lords Supper, provided that Scandalous and Ignorant Persons be kept back, and Ceremonies removed, Why then should you desire to set up other Churches, as different from ours? &c.* Thus that Authour.

10. Lastly, I shall only add the Argument used from Antiquity and Practice of the Church. In the account given of the conference about setling Unity at his Majesties command, They object in behalf a Latitude and Liberty a great diversity in the Ancient Church in matters of Religion of lesser consequence: as *Socrates* in particular with some others at large recited, inform us: and no dissension, nor denial of Communion to those of differing Judgments and Practices. Only proud Victor the Pope went about to exact of other Churches conformity to him and his, in the Observation of *Easter*. For which he was censured by *Irenæus* and others. And besides, this by wise men hath been thought

An Account of Papers that passed between the Commissioners, &c p. 78

Socrates Eccleſiaſt Hiſt.

Chap. 8. thought to be the ſource and cauſe of the Great and many Schiſms in the Church, That ſome Biſhops, eſpecially the *Romane*, have been generally too Rigorous in extorting Conformity from other in lighter matters. This is the ſumm and ſtrength of this greateſt ſhew of Authority on their ſides. And ſcarce any thing is to be found in their late diſcourſes about Toleration, drawn from Antiquity, but it runs on the ſame Allegations with them quoted in the foreſaid *Account*.

I ſhall not need to ſay how perfidiouſly that Diſcourſe was publiſhed againſt mutual agreement, that nothing ſhould be made publique of that nature, without the conſent of both Parties; and yet how that Pamphlet was put out and ſcattered abroad to the great prejudice of the Church and truth, moſt diſhoneſtly; but like themſelves. But to what I have mentioned from thence, it is ſufficient to ſay (for the thing ſhews it ſelf) that nothing could be wrote more impertinently and vainly. For had they not been very big of a little common and obvious reading, not knowing otherwiſe how to bring it forth, they would never have gone about to make any underſtanding Reader believe all, or any thing there alledged for ſeveral Pages, is awhit to the purpoſe. For let the moſt Partial Reader they have, pick

but

but one of the many Inſtances given there, which ſpeaks of the ſame Provincial Church, and not of Churches under ſeveral Metropolitans or Patriarchs. Can any man be ſo unreaſonable as to make any believe, that becauſe the *Alexandrian* Churches differed in divers things from the *Antiochian*, and both from the *Romane*, and yet without breach of peace and union; or that probably the *Gallicane*, the *Italick*, the *Britiſh* Churches had Anciently their particular Rites without animoſities envyings or open uncharitable diſcords, or impoſing one upon another, therefore it ought to be ſo now with us of a Church of the ſame Denomination, and under the ſame, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil Government? If they could ſhew but one, I ſay one, Inſtance through the whole Chriſtian world that any Church did ever permit her Children to break and crumble into ſeveral Factions, as they expect ours ſhould, they ſhall ſay much more than I can believe they are able, ſomewhat to the caſe. This they ought to have done, & to have left the other undone. And as to the confirmation of their Teſtimonies, *viz.* That Schiſms have ſprung from rigour in things indifferent: It is onely true where Perſons or Churches in coordination one to another have preſumed againſt Rules of the Church, and com- Chap. 8.

Chap. 8. common Equity, to give their laws to their Equals, and constrain them under pain of exclusion from Communion to submit to their Decrees and Orders. A thing which the Pope was Old Excellent at, and therefore Authour of much trouble, many confusions, and Schisms in the Church: and the Presbyterians have rather exceeded, than imitated him herein; endeavouring by all unlawful and unjust means first to waft over the *Geneva* Rites and form of Discipline into this Nation, and then by violence being themselves subordinate as well single, as assembled, to Lawful Pastours, to impose such their fond and superstitious devices on those God and man had set over them. This is indeed, if any thing, to bring this Church under a Foreign Power; of which they would seem to be sore afraid elsewhere. This is to create Schisms and multiply factions, if any thing. And I pray God of his great mercy to your selves and to this poor Church, which ye have rent and torn, and harrassed, to *make God one and his name one* according to the *Scottish* sense, open the eyes of your mind, and prick your hearts till they bleed with true repentance and godly sorrow for your injustice and wickedness in such practices as these; that he may have mercy upon this Church, and your guilty souls, which we know not how they can be saved, had ye no

no more ſins than ſuch as ye eſteem your vertues, without true repentance; any more than the ſcandalous drunkards, unclean perſons, and prophane, all who, you would make the world believe, are on the Churches ſide, but I do not ſo believe: though I ſee and lament too much. If moderation and agreement be the things as really and cordially intended as pretended, convert your zeal to more ſound and ſubſtantial purpoſe of Religion, and uſe your beſt endeavours and Improve your greateſt Intereſts, that we may amend our wicked lives, and you your dogms: and than ſurely we ſhall not differ much, if you be ſo much more righteous than, we, as is boldly boaſted of. Chap. 8.

Some there are of no mean place and policy, who adviſe ſeriouſly, to avoid the Infamy of Perſecuting poor Souls for Religion, and let them be Executioners of their own Miſchief and Ruine: For (ſay they) Let them (for inſtance the *Quakers*) alone, and in time they will certainly deſtroy one another. Which I may eaſily grant to be true, and yet the Counſel very weak, and unreaſonable. For 'tis true, that many religions (ſhal I call them, or Superſtitions rather?) now pleading for Toleration, would in their progreſs fall foul with themſelves, and they devoted to them confound one another. And it is moſt probable, if Wild-Beaſts were ſet at liberty

Chap. 8. liberty from their Pens into some open place they would tear and worrey one another to Pieces, but not till they had put to flight, or devoured their Keepers. It is very likely, that *Phanaticks*, and *Schismaticks*, of the same Denomination, would in time Fight out the truth of Religion amongst them; but their Common Enemy (as they call us) must first lye gasping at their Feet. And will it not be a notable Solace to a wise man to foresee, that by casting away his own life for nothing, preparation will be made to destroy his Adversary? such is the safety in many Religions.

The Decency (to all sober Christians) is answerable to the safety. For as *Lucian* tells how *Ptolomy* Son of *Lagus* King of *Egypt* presented to his People a Black Camel for a Show, a thing, where those Beasts abound most, never seen; and a Man one half of whom was perfect Black, and the other half of his Body very Fair. At the Camel they all stood amazed: but at the Man, most of the beholders burst out into a loud laughter; others in scorn & detestation turned away from such a ridiculous Monster, and reproach to mankind: and yet this person differed not from other men, as to parts, or substance, but Ceremony only, and Accidents: So what ever may be Tolerated, and perhaps admired in matters not of divine concernment

Lucian Dialog. 2. seu Prometh. pag. 10. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃι μὲν πόλλοι ἐγέλων, ὃι δέ τινες ὡς ἐπὶ τέρατι ἐμυσπάττοντο.

ment and nature in Religion, to exhibit a Church to Chriſtian ſpectators ſo moſt ſtrangly divided and diſſonant to it ſelf, though but in things, not Eſſential, or Subſtantial to Faith, but circumſtances, is to render it ridiculous to one half of the World, the merry ſort; and to the other ſort, the ſober & judicious, odious, and ſo Scandalous, that few of theſe will ever yield to become *Proſelytes* to it, or tarry with it long. And we may be ſure, that they whoſe Policy, rather than Piety, or Prudence incline them to favour ſuch Monſtroſities, have nothing ſo much in their deſign, as to have us laughed out of the preſent Religion, and to make way firſt for All Religions, then for No Religion, and laſtly for another Religion. For to encounter which, nothing can be more profitable than by a generous Conſtancy, to follow and perſevere in our own Religion: For then will the ſlie underminer of it find himſelf in the end baſled, the impudent oppoſer aſhamed, and the witty ſcoffer, ridiculous to himſelf; having nothing elſe to bear him out but boldneſs, and multitude of Offenders. Chap. 8.

FINIS.